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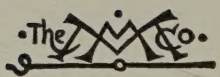

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ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL THE GREAT WAR (1914)

BY

KEVORK ASLAN

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

PIERRE CRABITÈS

WITH A PREFACE ON

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

BY

THE TRANSLATOR

New York

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TO

BOGHOS PASHA NUBAR,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL DELEGATION,
WHOSE TACTFUL LEADERSHIP AND UNREMITTING
DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF HIS RACE HAS
MADE EVERY LOVER OF FREEDOM
HIS DEBTOR, THIS WORK IS
DEDICATED

PREFATORY NOTE

In 1908 the author published at Paris, in the French language, an octavo volume of some 500 pages entitled "*Etudes Historiques sur le Peuple Arménien,*" covering the history of Armenia from the earliest times to the eleventh century. This edition is now out of print. Subsequently there was also published in French a condensed edition of the same work, carrying the story, however, from the earliest times down to the present day. The first edition of this smaller volume having been exhausted a new and revised edition has been prepared for publication in French and it has been thought appropriate to issue contemporaneously therewith an English translation.

The author ventures to express the hope that the English edition of his work will meet with the same favor that has been accorded the original French text.

In issuing this English edition it has been deemed necessary, in quite a number of instances, to depart from the French transliteration of Armenian, Persian and other foreign names. The phonetic value of certain English letters differs somewhat from the sound which the French associate with the same character and this difference has made it necessary to modify the transliteration of the Oriental original.

In other cases it has been found that a well-estab-

lished English custom has consecrated, as it were, a certain spelling which, from a scientific point of view, is absolutely indefensible and clearly shows that a Greek corruption of the Armenian or Persian form has found its way into English nomenclature. In such instances it has been considered better to follow established usages.

Then again as Armenia and the other territory referred to in this volume have been overrun at various times by many different races it has come about that many places are known under different names. Here it has been thought best to adopt what is felt to be more common designation and to add a footnote indicating some of the other forms.

In order to accentuate the manifold difficulties inherent in a work of the instant character it is now pointed out that there are two ways of pronouncing several Armenian letters; one mode obtains among the Armenians of the Caucasus, that is to say, in the East, and the other among occidental Armenians and principally among those inhabiting Constantinople.

Example:—

		Oriental form	*Occidental form*
բ	=	b	p
գ	=	g	c
դ	=	d	t
կ	=	c	g
տ	=	t	d

It is considered that the standard accepted in the East is the better form and it is therefore adopted as the basis of the transliteration followed out in this volume. This deduction is founded upon tests pred-

icated upon certain Armenian names which have been handed down in a transliterated Greek form.

Painstaking care has not been spared to fulfill with success a difficult task. These explanations are not set forth for the purpose of escaping responsibility for such omission or errors as may obtain but rather in order that an indulgent public, in arriving at its verdict, may not be unaware of the besetting difficulties which it has been sought to overcome.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

HIDDEN away in Western Asia, between the Caucasus, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, lies a high table-land of about the superficial area of France. There is found, in the picturesque language of M. Paul Deschanel, the distinguished President of the French Chamber of Deputies, the cradle of "an intelligent, laborious, cultivated people, which, joining Asiatic quickness of perception to the spirit, the soul of Europe, has ever been the sentinel of Greco-Latin civilization in the Orient."

Long before the Christian Era, and until A. D. 1, and then again for a further period of four centuries, within this territory, where the Euphrates and the Tigris find their source, flourished the kingdom of Armenia, a prosperous state containing, one authority states, as many as 30,000,000 inhabitants. Today it no longer enjoys even the semblance of an autonomous existence. Part of it is comprised within what was formerly the Russian Empire and while most of the remainder is incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, there is also a small fraction now included in Persia. Turkish Armenia is a vast, sparsely settled area, peopled by the remnants of an hardy race which, for hundreds of years, has suffered relentless persecutions on account of its staunch adherence to the Christian religion.

The Armenian massacres are known of all men who have taken even a passing interest in current events and it is deemed to be a work of supererogation to rehearse a sad story which is far too well known. Nevertheless certain value may be attached to an official communication addressed to Viscount Bryce on August 7, 1916, by an ex-President of the American Bar Association who had been charged with the examination of " the volume which contains the statements regarding the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks during the year 1915–1916 in order to determine the value of these statements as evidence." " In my opinion," reads the report, " the evidence which you print is as reliable as that upon which rests our belief in many of the universally admitted facts of history, and I think it establishes beyond any reasonable doubt the deliberate purpose of the Turkish authorities practically to exterminate the Armenians, and their responsibility for the hideous atrocities which have been perpetrated upon that unhappy people." [1]

With this postulate clearly defined and established, no attempt will be made in these introductory lines to rely upon ancient history for cumulative proof of the truth of the findings just set forth, but the Armenian question will be dealt with in this preliminary sketch as a modern, live issue. While reference will be made to regulations going back some seventy-five years it will be because such a retrospect is necessary to give the proper background to the picture. No statement will be made which cannot be supported by indisputable evidence and in many

[1] Blue Book — Miscellaneous No. 31 (1916). The treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

instances official records will be the authorities invoked.

After the massacre by the Turks of the Greeks at Constantinople, in 1821, and in the island of Chios, in 1822, Europe exacted of Sultan Mahmoud II a solemn promise that reforms would be introduced into Turkey. In order to avoid an European intervention, Abdul Medjid, son of Mahmoud, upon his accession to the throne in 1839, issued a decree guaranteeing that reforms (*Tanzimat*) would be put into effect. When, notwithstanding these assurances, the Christians of the Lebanon were slaughtered in 1845, Europe again made its voice heard and, in due course, the Sultan promulgated, in 1856, another ukase confirming and amplifying the original order of 1839. On the very morrow of these promises occurred new massacres at Djeddah, as well as in Syria, and shortly thereafter opened the bloody chapter of Zeitoun.

Things went from bad to worse and in time the Turco-Russian war of 1877–1878 broke out. The Russian Armenians did their full duty. When, to prevent the victorious troops of the Czar from entering Constantinople, the Sultan signed the Treaty of San Stefano, article sixteen enacted that " as the evacuation by the Russian troops of territory by them occupied in Armenia and which is to be restituted to Turkey may give rise to conflicts and create complications prejudicial to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte binds itself to put into effect, without further delay, in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, such reforms and improvements, as may be necessitated by local needs, and to guarantee the security

of the Armenians from attacks by the Kurds and the Circassians."

When the intervention of the Powers threw the Treaty of San Stefano into the melting pot and brought about the Berlin Conference (June 13–July 13, 1878), the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities there appeared and set forth the aspirations and desires of their people. However, before the Congress had convened England and Turkey had, on June 4, 1878, entered into an understanding known as the convention of Cyprus, which contained but one single article, which has fallen into such oblivion that it may be cited in full. Here are its terms: — "Should Russia keep possession of Batoum, Ardahan and Kars, or of any one of them, or should any attempt be made by Russia at any epoch whatsoever, to seize any other part of the Asiatic territory of H. I. M. the Sultan, as said territory may be defined by the definitive treaty of peace, then and in that event England binds herself to take up arms for the defense of the territory in question. On the other hand H. I. M. the Sultan promises England to introduce such reforms (to be defined at a subsequent date between the Powers) as may be necessary for an orderly administration and the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Sublime Porte; and in order that England may be in a position to assure the necessary means for the execution of her engagement, H. I. M. the Sultan consents to assign unto her the island of Cyprus, to be by her occupied and administered."

When the delegates to the Berlin Conference assembled around the green table, speaking of article sixteen of the Treaty of San Stefano, Lord Salisbury

pointed out that he was prepared to accept the draft in respect to "reforms and improvements" provided the first lines were eliminated, which seemed to make the withdrawal of the Russian troops contingent upon the grant of the reforms. In due course the article, as amended, became Article Sixty-one of the Treaty of Berlin. It carried, however, a rider to the effect that "Turkey shall, from time to time, advise the Powers of the nature of the measures which have been taken, it being also understood that the Powers shall have the right to superintend the application of the measures."

Prolific in promises, but sterile in execution, Turkey abstained from living up to her guarantees, and on June 11, 1880, the several Powers simultaneously addressed an identical note to the Sultan setting forth that, notwithstanding the specific undertaking given by the Sublime Porte, nothing had been done to carry the reforms into execution and adding that "all of the reports emanating from the Agents of the Powers prove that the condition of the Armenian provinces is most deplorable."

Such epistolary zeal accomplished nothing and further letter writing ensued in which, on September 7, 1880, the Ottoman Government was advised that "a careful study of its reply had shown that the propositions submitted by it answered neither to the letter nor to the spirit of Article Sixty-one of the Treaty of Berlin."

Constantinople, in answering, took the position that it would handle the situation as the case required, and from and after this there appears to have followed a period of silence.

But the reforms were not executed and from

August 21 to September 4, 1894, the massacres of Sassoun were carried out. Europe awoke from its lethargy on May 11, 1895, and compelled the Sultan to agree to a new program of reform applicable to what is known as the six Armenian Vilayets. Abdul Hamid promulgated the necessary decree and history reports that he simultaneously ordered the massacres of 1895 and 1896.

In due course the Young Turks came upon the scene and even greater and more systematic slaughter ensued, principally in little Armenia or Cilicia.

As the new Ottoman régime had been swept into power upon a platform having liberalism as its keynote and as its leaders denied that they were responsible for the outrages and insisted that the bloodshed was but a recrudescence of the old governmental policy, reprobated by them, Europe abstained from active interference and the death of numberless Christians was the price of such credulity. However, when the Balkan war broke out the entire Near East was alive to the new issues thereby created and the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities, acting for the whole people, brought about the creation of an official Armenian delegation which devoted its efforts to systematic insistence upon an observance of the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin.

Turkey, true to precedent, agreed to introduce "reforms and improvements," and, on February 5, 1914, a firman issued providing that delegates should be chosen from among certain of the neutral nations charged with the execution of the new regulations. The Dutch and Norwegian delegates had barely reached their posts when the great war broke

out. The official report before cited gives the latest chapter of the tragedy.

From the date of the Treaty of Berlin until the entry of Turkey into the war, as an Ally of the Central Powers, the Armenian question was looked upon by European diplomatists and public opinion as forming part and parcel of the internal polity of the Ottoman Empire. While no one, in the Occident, sought to question that grievous injustice had been done the Armenians and that reforms were imperative in " the provinces inhabited by the Armenians "— the word Armenia was not even uttered — the whole discussion was predicated upon recognition of Turkish hegemony. If the term " autonomy " appeared in the original draft submitted by Russia to Turkey during the preliminaries leading to the peace of San Stefano, such language was carefully expurgated from the article as enacted.

So absolutely was the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire the corner stone of European diplomacy, that when war broke out the Entente Powers agreed that, should Turkey remain neutral, " to give her a collective guarantee in writing that they would respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire and would bind themselves that, at the close of the war, no clause would be inserted into the Treaty of Peace in any wise adversely affecting the said independence and integrity." [2]

Turkey's suicidal policy at once readjusted the entire focus of European politics and, as a corollary, caused the Armenian question to enter a new phase.

[2] Blue Book (1914), No. 28. Events leading to the rupture of relations with Turkey.

It was now no longer a matter of Turkish reforms; nor was autonomy under Ottoman suzerainty given even a passing thought.

On the contrary negotiations were entered into by France, England and Russia which were predicated upon a dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The best available evidence as to the terms of the pact places Western Armenia within the zone of influence allotted to France and assigns Eastern Armenia to Russia.

The inevitable logic of events forced the United States into the war, and on January 8, 1918, President Wilson articulated his program of peace. Point XII declares that "the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities, which are now under Turkish rule, should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

As both belligerent groups have accepted Point XII in its entirety this recognition of the principle therein formulated left no doubt as to the right of the Armenians to enjoy the blessings of autonomy. As a matter of mere historical interest it may be mentioned that the two European Powers, to which were allotted Eastern and Western Armenia, respectively, in the Anglo-Franco-Russian accord of 1916 have expressed themselves in favor of autonomy in a manner which is not lacking in definiteness.

Speaking in the French Chamber of Deputies, December 27, 1917, M. Stephen Pichon, then and now Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that "an adherence to the policy of the rights of nationalities has ever been the honor of our traditions and of

our history. It applies, as we view it, to the *Armenian,* Syrian and Lebanese populations, as it does to all peoples who suffer, against their will, the yoke of the oppressor, be he whom he may. Such peoples have a right to our sympathy, to our help. All of them should be given an opportunity of deciding their own fate."

The Russian attitude is of even more far-reaching import. An official decree published January 13, 1918, enacts that " the Council of the Commissioners of the People declare unto the Armenian people that the government of the working men and peasants of Russia upholds the right of the Armenians, of Turkish Armenia, occupied by Russia, freely to define their own status, including, within the purview of this language, the right to declare themselves independent."

Pretermitting any attempt to decide who is empowered to speak in the name of Russia the principle formulated by President Wilson has, by the unanimous acceptance of friend and enemy, removed from the domain of doubt the right of the Armenians to complete autonomy.

The kaleidoscopic changes which have occurred upon the world's horizon within the past few months have relegated autonomy to the background and substituted in its place the principle of complete independence for Armenia.

This evolution of the Armenian question has been clearly foreshadowed by the line of conduct pursued in respect to the constituent elements of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, for an examination of the language of Point XII and of Point X shows beyond peradventure that both are inspired

by the same dominant thought and that is, that the various elements owing allegiance to the Hapsburg dynasty and the non-Turkish units of the Ottoman Empire " should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous government." In other words the constituent elements of the two realms have been assimilated to one another within the limits before set forth.

Now since January 8, 1918, the Czeco-Slovac and the Jugo-Slav republics have been recognized by America and the governments associate with her, even although the language of Point X contemplated not independence but autonomy.

Far from desiring, even by implication, to cast a doubt upon the wisdom of this decision, reference thereto has been suggested by the fact that notwithstanding the close analogy maintained, in principle, between " the peoples of Austria-Hungary " and the non-Turkish elements of the Ottoman Empire, at the present moment Armenian independence has not been officially recognized.

It is believed, however, that official recognition of Armenian independence cannot be long deferred, particularly as the revendications submitted to the Peace Conference by the Armenian National Delegation, February 12, 1919, specifically ask for " the recognition of an independent Armenian state, formed by the union of the seven vilayets and of Cilicia to the territory of the Armenian Republic."

Humanity cannot turn a deaf ear to a plea which thus embodies a legitimate national aspiration, but due regard for the opinion of mankind necessitates an inquiry as to whether Armenia fulfills those requirements which, in the opinion of the world, amply

warrant the policy pursued as regards the Slavonic Republics.

Ethnically the Armenians constitute a race and thus possess the primary element of homogeneousness.

They have a language of their own and a literature of their own and traditions of their own hallowed by time and sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs.

In the Orient religion and nationality are synonymous terms. The Armenians have been persecuted because of their religion but have preferred death to apostasy. That subdivision of Christianity into irreconcilable sects, which lends such inextricable complication to the Balkan question, does not obtain in Armenia. There, with practical unanimity, the entire Christian population owes allegiance to the Armenian National Church, whose spiritual head is known as the Catholicos. Riveted together by a community of sufferings, welded into one compact unit by the torch and flame of the Turkish despoiler, hammered into an indissoluble confraternity by the blows of the Muslim tyrant, when their bodies are not cut asunder by his bayonet, and fortified by the prayers of their dead, the Armenians of to-day know but one God, but one church, but one religion and owe apostolic fealty to but one head.

Historically a nation, with a past replete with glorious achievements, the Armenian people have clung as tenaciously to their national aspirations as they have to the tenets of their creed.

Thus uniting all of the essential prerequisites of an independent existence it becomes manifest that Armenia is entitled to be admitted into the family of

nations unless her people have, notwithstanding their religious loyalty, failed in other essentials.

The stern facts of history will answer, but before undertaking this analysis it is well to record that in the spring of 1918, when the Central Powers and Turkey were discounting the effect of their advance on Paris, it had been covenanted and agreed, by and between Germany and her allies, to form out of the Caucasian portion of Russian Armenia an independent Armenian Republic. Thus had a group of nations, which knew not the meaning of liberalism, admitted the principle of a free state in Armenia.

In an official communication, dated the Foreign Office, October 3, 1918, addressed to Viscount Bryce by Lord Robert Cecil, British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, it is placed on record that,

"1. In the autumn of 1914 the Turks sent emissaries to the National Congress of the Ottoman Armenians then sitting at Erzroum and made them offers of autonomy if they would actively assist Turkey in the war. The Armenians replied that they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, but that as a nation they could not work for the cause of Turkey and her Allies.

"2. On account, in part, of this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915. Two-thirds of the population were exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods, more than 700,000 people, men, women and children alike.

"3. From the beginning of the war that half of the Armenian nation which was under the sovereignty of Russia organized volunteer forces and un-

der their heroic leader Andranik bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaigns."

Comment is useless. Fifty-three thousand Americans laid down their lives on the fields of France that militarism might be uprooted; "700,000 men, women and children alike" went to their graves because their official representatives spurned an autonomy purchased at the price of active opposition to the cause of the Allies. Such a decision adds to the probative value of any argument the impassioned plea of despoiled virgins, disemboweled mothers and tortured infants.

To-day the same responsible British statesman, from whose official utterances such a lengthy excerpt has just been made, has expressed his own views as to the treatment which should be accorded Armenia in words which blaze the path which should be followed. He declared in the House of Commons on November 18, 1918, that "in my personal opinion the future of Armenia should be turned over to the League of Nations." "It is difficult to establish during a debate," he said, "the future frontiers of Armenia but there should not there remain a vestige of Turkish government."

Just a few days previous to the date of this declaration His Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, President of the Armenian delegation, granted an interview to the Paris *Libre Parole* in which he made it perfectly clear that the Armenian people desired no further contact of any kind with the Ottoman Empire. "Our second hope," said this official spokesman, "is that the new Armenian state, which will adopt a republican form of government, may be

placed under the ægis of the liberating Powers, who, instead of creating a condominium of any kind, should delegate one of their own group to act as the guardian of the new state until the Armenian people feel that they can govern themselves. If protection or guardianship is referred to, rather than condominium, it is because, under the latter régime, friction has been known to occur which adversely affects the interests administered. The inspiring example of the success attained by the Cuban Republic, whose people the United States educated before launching them alone in the world, affords a proof that guardianship best answers the needs of our people."

As to the territorial ambitions of the Armenian nation the interview makes it clear that " the future state should comprise all of that area which was formerly Turkish Armenia." And the distinguished delegate, in concluding, expressed his conviction " that the enlightened policy of Europe would deal fairly with the new nation in respect to that part of Armenia which has long owed allegiance to Russia, particularly in view of the reorganization of the Muscovite Power."

Inasmuch as the Anglo-Franco-Russian accord of 1916 had established that Eastern Armenia should fall within the zone of French influence it is well to insist, at this point, that at the sitting of the House of Commons held December 4, 1916, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gave categorical assurance that " the agreement entered into in no sense contemplated annexation."

The true inwardness of the accord was, that France and England were compelled to take steps

for their own protection to counterbalance the enormous development accruing to Russia as the result of her proposed annexation of Constantinople and of the country tributary thereto. The elimination of Russia as a great power to-day places the case in a different light.

Not only the welfare of the new nation, but the tranquillity of the world, requires that the frontiers of Armenia be so traced as to permit of the normal development of her resources. She must be accorded that which Point XI assures unto Servia and that is " free and secure access to the sea." This is axiomatic.

A high range of mountains separates Armenia from the Black Sea. The scene of the massacres of the Young Turks and of the final bulwark of Armenian independence was that part of the territory known as Little Armenia or Cilicia. This area, doubly sacred as the symbol of the last vestige of national liberty and as the grave of so many thousands of patriots, borders upon the Mediterranean and it is there that the new state should find " its free and secure access to the sea."

The working out of the details of the exact delimitation of the boundary lines can well be left to technical advisers, but so important is it for the maintenance of a lasting peace that nothing may be done which may be the cause of " introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism " that it cannot be too strongly urged that there are interests more sacred than those of Armenia which require that a Mediterranean seaboard be assured unto her.

Viewing the matter from all angles it may be in-

ferred that the Armenian question is now assuming its definitive shape. Reforms gave way to autonomy and the logic of events, forecasted by the recognition accorded the Slavonic Republics and emphasized by the official demands of the Armenian National Delegation, apparently indicates that autonomy must be discarded in favor of independence, along such rational, conservative but withal inherently liberal lines as proposed by the Armenian official delegate.

As to the means of carrying into execution such a plan, as to the details thereof and the selection of the nation charged with the humanitarian rôle of guardian of this martyred people, this inquiry will not attempt to deal. It was just in this same sense that, in a public address, delivered January 6, 1918, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, declared that " in his opinion Armenia is entitled to have its separate national existence recognized, but that no attempt will be made at this time to define the exact form which should be given to this recognition." It was therefore stated in the House of Commons on July 11, 1918, by the British Foreign Secretary that " In so far as concerns the future of Armenia I shall simply recall the public declarations made by the leading public men of the Allies. This future will be decided according to the principles indicated by the Right Honorable Gentleman: the right of all peoples to dispose of themselves."

It is felt that now that the " Age of Absolutism " has passed and " the Era of Nationalities " has begun that such solemn ministerial declarations may be relied upon. Nevertheless eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and it must never be forgotten that

before America entered the family of nations it was under the ægis of principles proclaiming self-determination, justice and liberty that the name of Poland was obliterated from the map of Europe.

The first partition of Poland was carried out, in the name of the Holy Trinity, July 25, 1772. Nine years before this outrage was perpetrated, Frederick Augustus II of Poland passed away and Frederick of Prussia took advantage of this vacancy to issue a statement to the effect that "the false reports which are spread abroad, and which the enemies of public tranquillity do not cease to propagate, that the Courts of Prussia and Russia wish to profit by the present circumstances to dismember Poland or Lithuania have induced the undersigned to deny them; for far from wishing to aggrandize himself, His Majesty, the king of Prussia, labors and will constantly continue to labor, only to maintain the states of the Republic in their entirety."

Maria Theresa of Austria also declared, in a most solemn manner, that she considered the Republic of Poland "a sovereign and independent state, whose right, assured by the laws and constitutions of the country, to choose a king with full liberty of suffrage cannot be in any way restrained."

Turkey set forth that it desired the election of "such a Pole as the electors thought suitable."

Louis XV of France was even more careful in his choice of language, for he affirmed that "he considered upon that occasion only the advantages of the Republic; that he entertained no other wish or desire than to see the Polish nation maintained in all its rights, in all its possessions, in all its liberties, and especially in the most precious of its prerogatives,

that of giving itself a king by a free election and a voluntary choice. It is for the nation itself to determine its choice by consulting its own advantage without regard to foreign influences; and His Majesty will recognize as King of Poland, and will sustain and protect, whoever shall be elected by the free choice of the nation and conformably to the laws and constitutions of the country."

In June, 1916, President Wilson stated to a delegation of Armenians that "many are the peoples who have suffered as a consequence of this war but the fate of no nation has touched the heart of America as much as have the sufferings of the Armenians."

The same voice which so defined the martyrdom of Armenia has also declared that "right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for an universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

These words have the ring of sincerity. The world believes in the high purpose, fixed resolve and unconquerable will of the American people and also knows that the Europe of to-day is no longer the Europe of Frederick the Great, of Maria Theresa and of Louis XV. A new era has dawned, but if Armenians are to be worthy of sharing in the fruits of such an epoch they must continue to press their cause until the organized public conscience of mankind shall have rendered a decree, irrevocable and

binding, and definitely admitting Armenia into the family of nations.

The great constructive brains of the world owe it to themselves to hearken to the prayers of those men, women and children who have been sacrificed upon the altar of European international polity so that, in the words of Lincoln " these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS

CHAPTER I

Geographical configuration, climate and products — Legendary history — The Ourarti — The origin of the Armenians — Their settlement in the valleys of the Euphrates and of the Araxes — The Armenians during the days of the Persian Empire and of the Kingdom of the Seleucids.

That region which extends to the east of the peninsula of Asia Minor as far as the confines of the Caspian Sea between the Pontic Mountains and the ramifications of the Caucasus on the north and Mesopotamia on the south, which geographers call Armenia[1] during the Assyrian days of old was designated by names whose origin is lost in the darkness which preceded the dawn of history such as: Ourartou or Ararat, Naïri or Nahri, Supan or Sophene, Enzite or Hanzid, Arzn, Bianïna or Viaïna or Van, Manna or Minni or Atrpatcan.

TAKEN as a whole it may be said that Armenia constitutes an high table-land of an altitude varying between 1500 and 2000 meters, which rises abruptly on the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea and the plains of Mesopotamia. The mountains which join the Caucasus to the Pontic range and to the Taurus chain furrow the table-land in all directions and take the

[1] The Armenians, who are known as Hai, sometimes called their country Haik (plural of Hai), but more often Haia-Stan, an appellation in which the suffix Stan, borrowed from the Persian, means a country or residence.

form of enormous solid masses, the highest of which is Mount Ararat, the Massis or Massik [2] of the Armenians. This snow-clad peak is of an altitude of over 5000 m. and the two cones, which crown its summit, are of porphyry. Towards the north between the Araxes and the Kura rises Mount Aragaz or Alagoeuz (4000 m.). On the northwest is found Mount Paryadis [3] (3000 m.). In the center Mount Abos [4] (3200 m.) dominates the table-land. On the east lies Mount Niphates or Npat [5] and farther to the south Mount Sepouh or Sipan (3600 m.) which overlooks Lake Van.

Broken up into amphitheaters, the mountains of Armenia abound in hollows over which extend lakes of considerable area. The most remarkable is Lake Van, situate at an height of 1600 m. Its waters [6] are brackish and their area is six times greater than that of the Lake of Geneva (Switzerland). To the southeast of the former body lies Lake Ourmia (altitude 1300 m.), larger in superficial area than Lake Van but quite shallow. To the north of the Araxes craters of extinct volcanoes, transformed into lakes of sublime beauty, pour forth their waters towards that river.

[2] The Massis of the Armenians must not be confused with the Massios of classical geography, which rises to the north of Nissibina. The mount referred to in the text is known to the Tatars as Arghi-Dagh (the mountain of Arche) and to the Persians as Kohi-Nouh (the mountain of Noah).

[3] Barkhar or Ko-Dagh.

[4] Bingoeul or the mountain of the thousand lakes.

[5] Ala-Dagh.

[6] Lake Van or the sea of Ourartou was known to the Assyrians as the upper sea of Naïri. Classical geography has called it Arsissa; and Armenians designate it indifferently as the sea of Bjnounis, Tosp, Ardjis or Vaspouracan.

It is here, amidst the uplands of Armenia, that the great rivers of Western Asia find their source. The Araxes and the Kura [7] which flow towards the Caspian Sea; the Euphrates and the Tigris [8] which drain the fields of Assyria and of Babylonia; the Halys and the Lycus which wend their serpentine course across Asia Minor to the Black Sea, owe their origin to Armenia.

The Araxes, which is the Armenian River of Rivers, springs from Mount Abos lying to the south of Erzroum. It winds its sinuous channel through the wide and fertile plains of Phasiane [9] and of Ararat [10] and receives the waters of a great number of tributaries, such as the Akhourian [11] which in its turn comes from the land of Ani. Thence the Araxes flows through Tchoukha [12] and passing from rapid to rapid reaches the Caspian plains where it blends itself with the Kura, the Georgian River which descends from the Caucasus.

The Euphrates, made up of two branches, carries the waters of the table-land towards the west. The eastern branch known as the Arazani [13] waters the high and productive plain of Valarskert,[14] turns southwards, passes Melazkert, flows alongside the fields of Taron [15] and, after taking the form of a series of cascades, runs through Balou and Kapan [16] where the western branch is joined. This latter affluent rises in a swamp near Erzroum and after following a winding course reaches the plains of

[7] Cyras.
[8] Dglath.
[9] Bassene.
[10] Erivan.
[11] Arpa-Tchaï of the Tatars.
[12] Djoulfa.
[13] Mourat-Tchaï.
[14] Askert.
[15] Mouche.
[16] Keban-Maden.

Eriza [17] only to enter the deep gorges of the Acn or Eghine. After its confluence with its eastern branch, the Euphrates skirts the rich lands of Melitene [18] only to dash into precipitate gorges where its breadth is sometimes reduced to fifty m. Thence the Euphrates flows towards the west, making its way towards the uplands of Mesopotamia.

The Tigris, which drains the fields of Assyria and of Babylon, owes its origin to a series of branches flowing near the course of the Euphrates. The main branch is that of the Amid [19] whose tributaries are the Nymphius,[20] which issues forth from the mountains of Samsoum, the Bitlis, and the Kentrit,[21] an outlet of Lake Van.

The Halys and the Lycus which carry the waters of the table-land towards the North Sea, spring from the mountains to the west of Eriza. The Halys waters the city of Sebaste [22] and thence winds its way across Asia Minor until it reaches the sea to the west of Samsoum. The Lycus passes Neocæsarea [23] and flows into the sea to the east of Samsoum.

Another river, the Sper,[24] which rises in the mountains to the north of Erzroum, traverses the plains of Baberd,[25] and making its way through the Pontic Mountains, continues its course until it reaches the Black Sea near Batoum.

From a purely topographical point of view few countries, if any, show signs of greater general upheaval than Armenia. It is true that the volcanoes

[17] Erzindjian.
[18] Malatia.
[19] Diarbekir.
[20] Batman-Sou.
[21] Bohtan-Tchaï.
[22] Sivas.
[23] Nikissar.
[24] Djorokh.
[25] Baybourt.

which called it into being are now extinct but the soil shows traces of their fire. The land is continually shaken and violent earthquake shocks are repeated century after century. A country abounding in contradictions, Armenia offers on the one hand the spectacle of sharp peaks and of deep precipices; stretches of country of majestic beauty and wide expanses of monotonous sameness; then there are fertile pasture lands, shaded valleys where grapes and fruit may grow in profusion, and plains covered with a rich alluvion where in spring time smiling crops of wheat and vegetation abound.

Intense cold follows excessive heat. Snow covers the fields during five months of the year. The temperature often falls as low as twenty-five degrees below zero (Centigrade) and in the valley of the Araxes it sometimes mounts as high as forty degrees (Centigrade). The winter frosts and biting cold often delay the planting season but in May nature bursts forth, as it were, and vegetation hastens to maturity.

Whilst Armenia is a country of great agricultural possibilities, its sub-soil conceals minerals whose renown goes back to remote antiquity. Copper, iron and lead abound. Recent investigations furnish evidence of the presence of anthracite and of mineral oils.

Birds are not numerous, and wild beasts fail to find a retreat in the open spaces which summer transfers into prairies. Here is the demesne of sheep, the raising of which constitutes one of the principal sources of riches of the country. The main domestic animals are the horse, the mule, the buffalo.

Protected on the north by the Caucasus range and on the south by the Taurus, Armenia would be a country safe against invasion if its geographical position had not made of it the converging point of the principal roads leading towards the heart of Asia. The Armenian table-land constitutes the main route from east to west and it is at the same time the key to that position which lies between the Caspian, Black and Mediterranean Seas and the Persian Gulf. Medes, Persians, Tatars, Turks, conquerors all, there continually passed; whereas the Assyrians and the Arabs touched upon the country from south to north. The strategic center of the upland is Erzroum, the ancient Theodosopolis, a city which was fortified by the Byzantines about the middle of the fifth century.

According to the narrative of the historian Moses of Khorene,[26] the Armenian table-land had been colonized from the very beginning by the Haï, or descendants of Haïc, great grandson of the biblical Japeth. It would appear from the writings of Moses of Khorene that Haïc, a child of the plains of Senaar, had fled to what is now Armenia in order to escape the persecutions of Belus of Babylon. Belus followed Haïc into Armenia for the purpose of conquering him, but in an heroic combat the former was killed by the man whom he sought to persecute. The uplands of Ararat were given the name of his son Haïk (plural of Haï) and the settlers were called Haï or Haïkian. It seems that Aram, the sixth descendant of Haïc in the direct line, was a con-

[26] The history of Moses of Khorene deals with the origin of the Armenians and stops at A. D. 440, about the time of the fall of the Archacouni.

temporary of Nimos. The sovereignty of Aram extended as far as Cappadocia, and foreigners, on account of his exploits, applied the name of Armen or Armeni to the country ruled by him. It is said that Araï was killed in a battle fought against Semiramis. The construction of castle Van,[27] containing inscriptions written in a language unknown to the Haï, is attributed to Semiramis. The same author maintains that Ararat, even while it preserved its own princes, descendants of Haïc, fell under the yoke of Assyria, until the days of Arbaces, king of the Medes. The recital goes on to state that after the taking of Niniva, the king of the Medes raised Parouïr, the Haikïan, to the rank of king. It is added that Tigranes, son of Erivant and the eighth direct descendant of Parouïr, fought Astiage [28] and slew him with his own hand. Vahagn, Tigranes's successor, is declared to have been made a god on account of his exploits, and his seventh successor, Van, is said to have rebuilt the Semiramocerta and to have given his name to the city. To bring the recital to an end it is set forth that Vahe, son of Van, went forth to fight Alexander the Great and having lost his life upon the field of battle thus brought to an end the authority of the Haïkians.

Outside of a few names which are revealed by the inscriptions of Assyria and Ararat, there is absolutely no confirmative proof of the narrative which has just been sketched; which is a tissue of fables embroidered upon a background of biblical traditions. The very presence in the cantons of the Araxes, at so distant a date, of an Armeno-Haï people is not established. The only thing that seems to perco-

[27] Semiramocerta. [28] Azi-Dahac.

late through this legendary narrative, if it be the echo of an historical fact, is that in the long forgotten past, the cantons of Van were subjugated by chiefs of Assyrian or Chaldean clans.

It is also necessary to reject the theory admitted by ethnographers to the effect that a branch of Medes and Persians, stranded upon the table-land of Ararat at the time of Aryan migrations, gave birth to the Armenian race. This ingenuous enunciation is, in the last analysis, nothing but a pure hypothesis based upon a similarity more apparent than real, between the customs and the religion of the Medes and the Armenians. This hypothesis complacently discards all of the traditions which have been compiled by the Greek classical writers, Herodotus, Strabo and Eudoxus, who report that the Armenians, properly so called, are related to the peoples of Asia Minor and more particularly to the Phrygians.

Records, which have been discovered, show that the primitive population of the table-land of Ararat was an agglomeration of peoples of different origin. Ararat, as most mountainous countries, had been successively invaded by the tribes who camped in its neighborhood. These peoples came principally from the Caspian district, Media, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Succeeding migrations cast upon Ararat, on the one hand, Scythian and Touranian tribes of the same branch as the Alains and the Saspirians, whom Ezekiel designates as Gog and Magog, and on the other hand Medes, Aramcens of Mesopotamia, as well as Indo-Europeans from Asia Minor. From this simple enumeration it is clear that the primitive settlers were peoples of different languages

and of different religions, many of them belonging to races of which history preserves but a faint memory if she knows of them at all. The immigrants hailing from the North conquered, beyond peradventure, the valley of the Araxes and, perhaps, the basin of Van, but they were unable to advance along the banks of the Euphrates, where the tribes from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia had taken root. It must be assumed that these two peoples lived, for centuries, without fusing, because they are found as two distinct entities towards the end of the Persian Empire.

The principal element known to students as Khaldae or Khaldi, on account of their national god Khald, or Chald, represent beyond question the Ourarti of Assyrian inscriptions, whose descendants Herodotus knew under the name of Alarodians. The language in which their inscriptions are written, and which scholars decipher, bears no affinity to Armenian or any other known language. It is established by these inscriptions that the kings of Ararat were proud warriors. They led their armies towards the North and West and even towards Northern Syria. They long fought against Assyria to maintain their independence. They constructed cities and forts and dug canals of which some are still extant. After an existence which lasted for several centuries the Ourarti disappeared from the scene at about the beginning of the conquest of the Medes and without the splendor of the part played by their kings in the history of Asia having reached the writers of antiquity.

Among the peoples who surrounded the Khaldi, so the inscriptions show, were the Khiti or Khati (the

Hittites of scholars). They hailed from the Cilician Taurus. The Khiti advanced as far as Melitene and paid tribute to the Ourartian kings and the Assyrian monarchs. On the north the Khaldi touched upon the Saces or Scythians who had occupied a district between the Araxes and the Kura, called Sacasene.[29] Cuneiform documents speak of this country as early as the eighth century B. C., under the name of Ashgouzaï or Ischouzaï.[30] In the mountains bordering the south of Lake Van were camped the Carducques[31] famous for the ardor displayed by them both at war and in pillaging.[32] These early inhabitants of Ararat lived, just as the present population of Armenia, in villages half buried in the soil in order to protect themselves against the hoar-frost of winter. Xenophon, who visited these villages during the

[29] Known to Persians and Armenians as Sissacan.

[30] Jeremiah speaks of the country as the Kingdom of Asckenas.

[31] Referred to as Kudraha (Kurds) in the inscriptions of Darius.

[32] The modern Kurds, who have maintained the same customs and an organization based upon obedience to hereditary chiefs of clans, are a composite race composed of Persian, Arab, Chaldæan and Armenian elements. They use a dialect, the basis of which would appear to be of Iranian origin but which has drawn largely upon the languages of the various elements which have contributed to create the modern Kurds. There are among this people sedentary tribes who devote themselves to agriculture, whilst others are composed of wandering shepherds. The Kurds embraced Islam at the time of the Arab conquest and the Seljuk invasion and they invariably ally themselves to those who have the upper hand, in order that they may be able to indulge in rapine and pillaging. Their extension towards the north in Armenia, and towards the west in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Halys, as far as the gulf of Alexandretta dates mainly from the days of the Ottoman Turks. During the twelfth century A. D. several Kurdish families attained political situations of high import and bore the title of Atabek, such as the famous Zinghi Atabek of Mossoul and of Aleppo who took Edessa from the Crusaders (A. D. 1134) and his son, Nour-Ed-Din, who shortly afterwards played an important part in Syria.

retreat of the ten thousand, found them abundantly provided with all necessities. Fortified market-towns had been constructed generally perched up on rocks of difficult access. Among such places may be cited Touspa or Tosp, Arzacou, Erouand, Erouandakert, Manavazakert, Balou and Arghni.[33] During the several centuries Ourartou and its petty kings owed allegiance to Niniva. At about the commencement of the ninth century B. C. two kingdoms were carved out of Ourartou. One was created in the east in the country known as Manna and the other in the center, or Ararat, and this latter territory was ruled over by Arame, a descendant of Shadour or Sour, a contemporary of Salmanassar III (B. C. 840). One of his successors, Ishpouin-Is, organized the province of Van and made of Touspa his favorite residence. His son, Menouas,[34] carried on further conquests, subjected to his rule the Khati of Melitene and built the market-town of Manazkert. His grandson, Shardour-Is (B. C. 755), taking advantage of the weakness of Assyria, descended upon Syria, took Arpad and then Aleppo but he was finally compelled to retreat before Teglatphalassar II, who invaded Ourartou and laid siege to Touspa. The contest against Assyria was renewed under the reign of Rousas.[35] Several campaigns ensued before Sargon, king of Assyria, was able to assert his supremacy.

Towards the middle of the seventh century B. C.

[33] Touspa is now known as Van; Arzascou as Ardjis; Erouand as Erivan. Kert is an Armenian suffix meaning built, adorned. Its use goes back to the Persian epoch.

[34] Manavas.

[35] Ursa. Armenian historians speak of the Rouchtouni.

the kings of Ourartou were able to come to terms with the Assyrian monarchs, but an unexpected enemy arose in their rear. The Cimerians [36] and the Scythians burst forth like a wild torrent from the country adjacent to the Caspian Sea and the Pontic Mountains and incessantly harassed them. These tribes led in their wake the Moushki,[37] the Armen, the Khati and hordes from all the neighboring territory and caused their followers to fall upon Ourartou and Assyria, whose inhabitants were murdered and their towns set on fire. Their subjects massacred, their towns reduced to ashes, the kings of Ararat were compelled to take refuge in the mountains only to disappear shortly afterwards when (B. C. 600–580) the Medes completed the work thus inaugurated.[38]

Of the remnants of the population some retrenched themselves in the Caucasus Mountains and in the country of the Carduchi, in the Pontic Mountains.[39] Others, including the landed proprietors, fused with the new masters of Ararat.

The kingdom of Ourartou was shortly forgotten and the deeds accomplished by its kings were blended into the legends of Ninos, Semiramis, Haïc and

[36] Armenian writers refer to them as the Camirk.

[37] The Mesheks of the Bible.

[38] The following chronological list of the kings of Ourartou has been compiled from the best available data:

Arame (about 850 B. C.), Loutibir (843), Shardour (833), Ishpouin (828), Menouas (800), Arghest (780), Shardour II (755), Rousas (720), Arghest II (714), Menousas II (685), Erivenas (670), Rousas II (645), Shardour III (640).

[39] The Greek Church still applies the designation "theme of Khaldea" to the region lying to the north of Trebizond and in this appellation is found confirmative proof that the Khaldi took refuge in this district at the time of their dispersion.

Belus. The history of the country was handed down as that of an heroic contest between the gods of Ourartou and of Babylon. Moses of Khorene, the author of the genealogy of the Haïcans, makes of Haïc the ancestor of the Haï, whereas the earlier writers of Armenia, the translators of the Bible, look upon him as a mythical character, similar to the Greek Orion.

Henceforth Ourartou, where the Armens took root, is called Armina or Armenik [40] or according to the Bible, Tog-Arma or Thorgoma, not to cite the fact that in national folk lore it is known as Haïk or Haïstan. The Armens, who were of Thracian origin, and related to the Phrygians, either preceded or followed the latter in their migration to Asia Minor. In support of the traditions handed down by Herodotus, Eudoxus and Strabo, Armenian historians add a genealogical table, founded upon tradition, according to which Thorgom [41] hailed from Tiras or Thrace. The Armens were camped near the head waters of the Halys, to the west of the Euphrates [42] and were there leading a precarious existence under their chiefs when the armies of Sargon, the Assyrian, invaded Cappadocia and Melitene (B. C. 720). This was the signal for a new emigration towards the east, a movement encouraged by offers made by the kings of Ourartou who desired to maintain good relations with the neighboring peoples in order to be able to make use of them in the contest against Assyria.

[40] Inscriptions of Darius at Behistoun.

[41] The Biblical Tag-Arma.

[42] An inscription of Menousas reveals the existence of a people known as the Urmani or Armeni, living to the west of Ourartou.

The Armens seemed to have mixed their blood with another Asiatic element whose patronymic, Haï, became in time their national designation. Superficially it would appear as if the strain thus called into being may be identified with the Khaldi of Ourartou, owing to the fact that the Armenians appropriated to themselves Haïc, the supreme god of Ourartou and that a tradition, more or less vague, has it that they descend from Aschkenas,[43] that is to say from the Scythian peoples of the region of Ararat. Armenian historians know of the appellation Khaldi or Khalik[44] and do not confound it with the national name of Haï. They consider that the monuments and inscriptions of Van are the work of Semiramis and are of the opinion that the language used is a foreign tongue.

At the very dawn of their history the Armeno-Haï give evidence of characteristics which make their assimilation with the Ourarti or with the Alarodians of Herodotus entirely improbable. On the other hand when the presence of the Khati or Hat in the regions adjacent to the Halys and the Euphrates is considered, and it is borne in mind that everything indicates that their language was Indo-European, and the manifest similarity between the appellations Khat and Haï is taken into account, it may well be deemed that the Khati are the survivors of these ancient populations of Asia Minor. The Khat of the Euphrates valley coalesced with the Armen,[45] conserving at the same time the name of

[43] Cf. the following passage: "Thus, bear in mind that we descend both from Aschkenas and the house of Thorgom"—Histoire de l'Arménie by Jean Catholicos.

[44] The Khaldik of the Pontic Mountains.

[45] Jensen—"Les Hittites et les Arméniens."

Haï, which became in due course the national designation. This fusion produced a race having all of the aptitudes the one of the other: a people peaceful, laborious, tenacious, self-willed and capable, when occasion called, of bearing the brunt of battle.

The great invasion of the Cimmerians and of the Scythians, which changed the face of the Asiatic world, seems to have permitted the Armeno-Haï to take up a position beyond the Euphrates and to enter into possession of the cantons situated on the left bank of that river. But this thrust was not carried on by the entire population, for several tribes continued to inhabit the cantons west of the Euphrates, thereafter called Minor Armenia. The country in which the Armens settled was a mountainous region, traversed by deep valleys and smiling plains. It was composed of several cantons. The inscriptions cite the names of Supna, Enzite, Erez, Ghirzanou and Daïani. There were a number of castles nestling among the mountains and many market-towns of which a few, Amiti or Amid,[46] Argheni, Henni, Anghl, and Balou, have until this day preserved their old names.

It was in the districts which they had conquered that the Armeno-Haï, who there also established a numerical preponderance, became known to the neighboring peoples, under the name of Arma, Armaï or Armeni. It is believed that a custom, which obtained among these petty kings, may have had something to do with this designation, for they joined to their names the prefix Arma. Thus Moses of Khorene, in his genealogy, speaks of Arma-Is, Armen-Ac, Armen-Si, whom he cites as the first Patri-

[46] Diarbekir.

archs of the nation. The country subject to their rule was called Armina, or Armenik, and this is the appellation applied thereto by foreigners, first by the Arameens, under the style of Tog-Arma, and then by the Iranians, the Greeks and the Romans. The biblical Tog-Arma, country situated between Gomer and Gog, that is to say between Cappadocia and Ararat, evidently refers to the cantons of the valley of the Euphrates, to the Armenia of Herodotus.[47] The name Armina or Armenik was extended little by little to Ourartou and to Biaïna as the Armen established their preponderance in the valley of the Araxes.

Nevertheless the Armeno-Haï were not able, at the outset, either to constitute a homogeneous state or to coalesce with the old population. After a comparatively short time they were themselves absorbed by the Persian Empire.

Situate on the highway of the conquering nations, upon the battle field of the friction point between the Occident and the Orient, the Armenians were called upon to remain upon the defensive. Upon this table-land, devoid of geographical homogeneity, they were compelled in advance to lead a national existence devoid of brilliancy. So thoroughly did they there take root, however, that after their conversion to Christianity and the birth of their literature, they came to consider Ararat as their country of origin.

From the glimpse that may be had into these times, it appears that the Armen petty kings were divided into two branches, one dominating that part of the country contiguous to the Euphrates and the other the territory drained by the Araxes. The

[47] Herodotus places Armenia between Cilicia and Matiene.

princes of the western cantons were generally known as Zareh, Vardanes or Archam. Their principal place of residence was Archamousat on the Arzania. The princes of the other cantons were generally named Oroute, Hrand, Schavarche or Tigranes, and they were domiciled at Armavir on the Araxes.[48]

At about this time Media, which had long been ravaged by Assyria, strengthened itself. Cyaxares destroyed Niniva (B. C. 600) and after a few years the Assyrian Empire, which had made the Oriental world tremble before it, became a legend of the past. Assyria, once subdued, Cyaxares turned his arms northwards and westwards, in order to subdue those peoples who were still showing signs of unrest. The Scythians, the Armen, the Moushki and the Ourarti did him homage. The hegemony of the Medes did not arrest the evolution of the Armenian people, to whom, from this moment, the classic authors call attention. Xenophon speaks of the existence of an Armenian king who is reported to have shown hostile proclivities at a moment when a change of dynasty made of Cyrus the master of the world (B. C. 550). This king of Armenia was, however, constrained to send his son Tigranes as an hostage to the Persian court. Tigranes, who was a valiant prince, entered the army and gained the friendship of Cyrus. He served through the Lydian campaign and took part in the siege of Babylon and these services were the means of his being permitted to succeed his father. Until this moment several kings,

[48] Arsamousat on the left bank of the Arzania, opposite Bajou and Armavir on the Araxes, the site of which is known as Tepe-Dibi, may be considered to be the first localities built by the Armenian petty kings.

who bore the name of Tigranes, had succeeded others known as Orontes and the Armenians had made quiet, unostentatious progress. The insurrections, which broke out more or less everywhere, when Darius ascended the throne extended to Armenia. When the revolt was put down Darius made of Armenia a Persian satrapy under the name of Armina or Armenik (B. C. 518). The satraps of Armenia, whose names and deeds are unknown, were, as a general rule, allied by blood with the Median Royal family. The tribute paid by Armenia consisted of 30,000 colts and of a few talents of raw silver. Besides this the Armenians were required in time of war to equip a certain quota of soldiers. It is for this reason that they figured in the armies of Darius and Xerxes during Median wars. This state of vassalage and the influence of the Iranian language and customs were such that the Armenians lost all consciousness of their own national existence and were welded into the mass of the Iranians. During the two centuries of submission to Persian domination the Armenians enjoyed great prosperity, and a period of uninterrupted development. Their attachment to the royal power became so accentuated that Armenian archers and horsemen, in large numbers, joined the armies of Darius Codomanus to combat Alexander at Issas.

When the Persian Empire was overthrown Armenia passed under the sway of the Macedonians. At the death of Alexander, Perdiccas gained the upper hand. Eumenes placed eastern Armenia under the governorship of a national prince named Artavasd, and this governor was succeeded by another prince of the same name and afterwards by

Hrand. When the ultimate division came about the Satrapies of Armenia fell to the Seleucids who were content to allow the government to remain in the hands of native princes, whom they treated with kindness when their lieutenants were strong men and whom they did not hesitate to menace and to intimidate when it was felt that such practices could safely be attempted.

The Seleucids were primarily engrossed with the attitude of the war-like tribes camped near the eastern extremity of their empire, in Bactria [49] and Parthyene.[50] A descendant of Darius Codomanus placed himself at the head of Parthian warriors, known as the Mazkouthes,[51] in order to found a new power, the kingdom of the Arsacid Parthians.[52] Tiridates and Artabanus, successors of the monarch just referred to, took Media and pushed their conquest as far as the Tigris. The Seleucids, menaced on the east by the Parthians and on the north by the rising kingdoms of Asia Minor, enjoyed but a semblance of authority over Armenia where reigned Hrand and Archam. Antiochus the Great (B. C. 222–186) entrusted the native generals Artasches and Zareh [53] with the government of Armenia, placing the former in charge of the country lying near the Araxes and the latter in control of the territory bordering upon the Euphrates. The new satraps, who had entered into relations with the kingdoms

[49] Bokhara.
[50] Khoraan.
[51] The Gouchans of Armenian writers.
[52] Arsacid is an adjective derived from the noun Arsace which was the title adopted by the kings of Parthia. Arsace is a corruption of the Sanscrit word Khajarsha (Xerxes), which signifies king or rather king of kings.
[53] Artaxas and Zarides.

of Asia Minor, did not hesitate to declare themselves independent when Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans at Magnisi (B. C. 186).

The Seleucid domination had lasted for a century and a half without in any sense changing the destiny of the Armenian people. Whilst the conquest of Alexander had altered conditions in Egypt, Syria and in Asia Minor and the arts and sciences had taken a great forward bound along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Armenian remained isolated, relegated to suffer such conditions as obtained in the Oriental world — and also kept in ignorance of the art of writing. No trace is found of a monument or of any form of art dating from these centuries of Persian and Seleucid domination. Cities of Armenian origin, such as Armavir, Zarcharan, Bagaran and Archamoussat, are either mere names or shapeless ruins.

CHAPTER II

The formation of Armenian royalty — The Tigranian Dynasty — Kings elected by the Romans and the Parthians — The Arsacids of Armenia — Organization of the royalty, territorial division — The great feudatories — The people, their customs and religious beliefs.

THE dominions of Artasches and of Zareh, who had taken, with the consent of the Roman Senate, the title of king, were reduced to narrow limits. The two kings, however, concentrating their efforts, enlarged their possession at the expense of their neighbors. They took from the Medes territory adjacent to the Caspian Sea, as well as Varpouracan;[1] from the Iberians or Virks,[2] Phaunitide [3] and Gogarene;[4] from the Chalybes and the Mosyneques, Korenitide [5] and Derxen;[6] from the Cataons, Akilisene,[7] and from the Syrians Taronitide.[8] The rising kingdoms of Armenia were, however, far from constituting an homogeneous whole; side by side with unassimilated elements, masters of great landed estates divided the territory and counterbalanced the royal authority. It became necessary to found a new capital to replace Armavir which no longer lay upon the Araxes as the waters of that river had

[1] Van.
[2] The modern Georgians and Gurdjis.
[3] Kars.
[4] Ardahan.
[5] Erzroum.
[6] Terdjan.
[7] Erzindjian.
[8] Mouche.

receded from their former bed. The new royal residence called Artoschat,[9] from the name of its founder, was also built on the Araxes, on a fortified site. According to a tradition, Hannibal, having taken refuge in Armenia, conceived the plan of the new town. Artasches died about B. C. 160,[10] and was succeeded by his son Artavasd, who according to legend fell a victim to insanity.

Mithradates II, called the Great, the Ninth Arsace [11] of the Parthians (B. C. 114–86), had turned his arms against the King of Araxian Armenia who had taken from the Medes and Iberians certain districts the restitution of which was insisted upon by Mithradates. The resistance which the Parthian Arsace encountered in Armenia prevented him from regaining the lost districts, but he seized the Crown Prince of Armenia and held him as an hostage.

This prince became Tigranes the Great. He was only able to ascend the throne, about B. C. 95, as the result of ceding to the Parthians the territory captured by his fathers.

As a consequence of the difficulties which arose, from the inception of his reign, between him and Verdanes, king of Euphratean Armenia, Tigranes attacked Verdanes, vanquished him and put him to death and thus became the sole king of the two Ar-

9 Artaxata.

10 Several facts which the history of Moses of Khorene attaches to the reign of Artasches II (latter part of the first century A. D.) appear to find their proper place during the epoch of the founder of the royalty. The marriage of the sovereign with Sathini, daughter of the king of the Alains, heralded by the songs of the Troubadours, the taking possession of the domain of Argam, in little Media, the warlike character and insanity of his son Artavasd all relate to the earlier period.

11 See note No. 52 in Chapter I.

menias and his sovereignty extended from the valley of the Kour as far as Cappadocia and Melitene. The reign of Tigranes the Great, which lasted forty years, was a flash of lightning in the history of Armenia.

In a contest with Rome in which he was allied with Mithradates Eupator, King of Pont, his father-in-law, Tigranes expelled from the throne of Cappadocia the king placed thereon by Sylla. He extended his dominion over Iberia, Atropolene,[12] Adiabene,[13] Osrohene,[14] penetrated as far as Assyria and forced the Parthian Arsace to accord him the title of King of Kings. He then went to Cilicia and entered Syria as far as Phenicia and made of these countries one of his satrapies. When these conquests were achieved he founded a new capital, Tigranocerta,[15] which he peopled with inhabitants carried off from the towns of Cappadocia. The city was hardly finished before it was adorned with monuments and theaters, whither Greek tragedians and artists were attracted by Queen Cleopatra, the protectress of Greek letters. Artavasd, the eldest son of Tigranes, coöperated with the queen in this work.

The successes of Tigranes, however, disturbed the Romans. Lucullus, appointed to the command of the armies of the Orient, seizing upon a pretext, marched upon Tigranocerta, took it, and sacked it, after having completely routed the army of Ti-

[12] Atrpatacan-Aderbeïjan.

[13] Gordyene.

[14] Ourfa.

[15] The site of Tigranocerta is not definitely known. Sometimes it is located at Mejafarkine, a fortified locality to the east of Diarbekir, and thence again at Tel-Arinen to the south of Mardine, whilst Armenian authors identify it with Diarbekir itself without taking into account the data furnished by the ancients.

granes. Lucullus turned northwards for the purpose of attacking the old capital, Artaschat, but he was set upon and defeated by Tigranes and his father-in-law, Mithradates, and compelled to abandon this idea and to retreat with his decimated legions. The success of the allies was destined, nevertheless, to be short-lived. Pompey, appointed to succeed Lucullus, vanquished Mithradates, and marched upon Artaschat. Tigranes, dependent solely upon his own resources, was constrained to surrender. Upon arriving at the camp of Pompey the King of Armenia agreed to relinquish all of his conquests and to pay an indemnity of 6,000 talents. Armenia was thus reduced to its ancient limits (B. C. 54).

Tigranes's son, Artavasd, who fluctuated between the two rival powers, the Romans and the Parthians, and who was held to be responsible for the disaster of Crassas, fell into a trap which was laid for him and, with his wives and children, was captured by Antony. Banished to Egypt, Cleopatra rid herself of him by having him decapitated the day after the battle of Actium (B. C. 36 or 34). The throne of Armenia was, for a short while, assigned to Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, and then to Artavard, King of Atropotene, but the house of Tigranes regained the throne under the protection of Augustus. The dynasty of the Tigranes was extinguished shortly afterwards in the person of Erato, a sister of Tigranes IV, (A. D. 10).[16]

[16] The kings of the house of Artasches-Tigranes were: Artaschese I (B. C. 190–160); Artavasd I; Tigranes I; Artaschese II, Artavasd II (B. C. 108–95; Tigranes II (the Great) (B. C. 95–94); Artavasd III (B. C. 54–36 or 34); Artaschese III; Tigranes III; Tigranes IV; Erato; Artavasd IV; Tigranes IV (2nd time); Tigranes V and Erato (2nd time).

The extinction of the royal family brought anarchy in its wake. The Armenian notables, torn asunder through internal dissensions, accepted whatever prince the Romans and Parthians imposed upon them. No Armenian prince was able to assure the succession to the throne to his descendants, and this form of government, which lasted for two centuries, made of the Armenian royalty a puppet in the hands of the Romans and the Parthians. The first of these elected kings was Vonones (A. D. 16), brother of Arsace Fraat IV. He was supported by Rome but menaces directed against him by Artaban forced him to abdicate. Zenon, son of Queen Pitidoris of Pont, put forward by Rome, remained on the throne until his death. He was succeeded by Mithradates who in turn was followed by Khadamistes. They were relatives of the King of Iberia. Under their rule Armenia was in a state of anarchy. The preponderance then passed to the Parthians, and Valarses I, their ruler, notwithstanding the resistance offered by Corbulon, who commanded the Roman legions, was able to place his younger brother Tiridates upon the throne.[17] The accession of Tiridates was finally recognized by Rome when (A. D. 64) he consented to go to the capital in order there to pay homage to Nero.[18] His successor, who was designated by Rome, was Aschkatarque, but Chosroes of Parthia dethroned him and replaced him by his nephew named Barthamassir. This intervention brought about a mighty expedition directed by Tra-

[17] Tirite.

[18] Certain Armenian writers desire to date from the reign of Tiridates the accession of Armenian Arsacides. This prince was a contemporary of Nero and accordingly such a deduction fails to take in consideration well-established facts of an anterior date.

jan who occupied Armenia as far as Karin,[19] and made of it a Roman province (A. D. 114). Barthamassir, who swore fealty to Rome, was killed when he sought to escape from the Roman camp. Hadrian, departing from the policy followed by Trajan, permitted Armenia to choose as king a prince of Arsacidian origin, named Akemenid. The destinies of Armenia were drifting along in this way when the Emperor Antoninus turned over the throne to Soyemus, a descendant of the royal family of Emesa,[20] a Roman Senator of outstanding reputation. The answer of the Parthians was an immediate declaration of war and Soyemus was compelled to take to flight. Lucius Verus, colleague of Marcus Aurelius, renewed the expedition of Trajan, took Ctesiphon and once again pillaged Selencia. The Roman candidate returned and finished his reign (about A. D. 166). His successor, named by Rome, was Sanatrouc, son or nephew of one of the Abgares of Osrhoene. This prince, in a short while, fell a victim to the Parthians, for Artaban IV, taking advantage of the civil war which arose between Niger and Septimus Severus, caused him to perish as the result of a plot which had been fomented by the Armenian notables whom Artaban had gained over to his side. Many useful enterprises were carried out by Sanatrouc among which may be pointed out the foundation of the city of Mzour at the confluence of the two branches of the Euphrates. Moses of Khorene confounds this city with Nissibine. This is the outstanding event of his reign of 27 years (A. D. 193) excepting always the legends kept

[19] Erzroum. [20] Homs.

alive by the national chronicles, according to which Sanatrouc occupied the throne during the first half of the first century and embraced Christianity only to recant. It is also handed down that his daughter Sandought, a zealous Christian, highly honored by the National Church, suffered martyrdom at the same time as the apostles Thadeus and Bartholomy, said to have come to Armenia about this time for the purpose of evangelizing the country.

After Artaban [21] had dethroned Sanatrouc he raised one of his brothers or nephews, Valarses, to the throne of Armenia. This prince rapidly obtained the assent of the more powerful men of the country and founded a dynasty which maintained its ascendancy in Armenia until the first quarter of the fifth century. It suited the policy of Rome henceforth to support these Arsacides, for they were looked upon, after the fall of the elder branch thereof, as the political enemies of the Sassanids, who had become the new adversaries of Rome in the Orient. The new kings of Armenia were called Arsace, in imitation of the Parthian sovereigns and the generic designation of Arsacid or Archacouni was applied to their dynasty.[22]

Valarses was a renowned and clear-visioned prince and, following out the policy called for by the needs of his country, yielded fealty to Rome. He founded

[21] Artaban belonged to that line of Arsacides known as Pahlavi or Pehlevi.

[22] The national chronicles agree that a prince named Valarses or Valarsaces was the founder of the Archacouni but they fix the date of his accession at B. C. 150 and make of Artasches and Tigranes successors of this prince, and in this way entirely lose sight of those facts which history shows took place in Armenia during the first and second centuries before Christ.

the city of Valarsapat [23] on the site of Vardghes, not far from the Araxes, and this city became the capital of the Archacouni until A. D. 340. To him is also due the castle of Valas-Kert,[24] in the upper basin of the Arzania, on the road between Erzroum and Tebris.

Armenia, after having been left in peace for twenty years, was again troubled by senseless acts of aggression on the part of the Roman Emperor Caracalla. This potentate, desirous of achieving what he deemed to be a success, summoned Valarses of Armenia before him, apparently for the purpose of obtaining from him information in regard to a contest which was then pending between Valarses and his sons. The Armenian king was held as prisoner and died in captivity. The Emperor Macrinus, who succeeded Caracalla, showed clemency to the Armenians, who took sides with Parthia in the war against Rome, and he recognized Tiridates, son of Valarses, as their king.

The general insurrection stirred up by Artaschir, the Sassanid, reversed the Parthian Empire (A. D. 226). This chieftain, an orthodox follower of Zoroaster, sought to bring about the complete annihilation of the entire Arsacidian line, and attacked Armenia, but without success, owing to the intervention of a Roman army led by Alexander Severus. Shapur I, son of Artaschir, renewed the attack, put to flight the Armenian King, Tiridates II, and or-

[23] The site of Valarsapat is often confused with that of Etchmiazine, situate at a distance of twenty-five kilometers to the southwest of Erivan, on the River Abaran. Valarsapat, which afterwards was called Nor-Kaak (new city), is the most famous place in the annals of Armenian Christianity.

[24] Now Alaschquert or Toprak-Kale.

dered that the worship of fire be universally introduced into the country. The success obtained by the King of Palmyra over the Sassanid ruler enabled the Romans to reëstablish their influence in Armenia and to call to the throne Chosroes, son of Tiridates. Shortly afterwards this king fell into a trap which was laid for him by Shapur of Persia and (A. D. 271) he was killed by his relatives and court dignitaries. The life of his son, also named Tiridates, was barely saved but he was able to escape and was carried to Roman territory. Thus Armenia fell once again under the domination of the Sassanid kings and there remained until Ctesiphon was taken by the Roman Emperor Carus (A. D. 283).

Shortly afterwards Diocletian designated the youthful Tiridates III, who had grown up in Rome, as King of Armenia. Tranquillity seemed to be established but the Sassanid Nerses [25] (A. D. 293–303) returned to the charge. Tiridates took to flight, as his uncle had done, but in a short while he returned with a Roman army led by Galerius. The victory obtained by this general and the policy enforced by Diocletian assured a period of peace which lasted until the reign of Constantine. The reign of Tiridates III, notwithstanding these misfortunes, was made memorable by the official conversion of Armenia to Christianity, a fact which has proved to be of immense importance to the destinies of the Armenian people.[26]

During the days of the Arsacids the kingdom of

[25] Nerseh.

[26] The following is a chronological list of the first Arsacides of Armenia: Valarses (A. D. 193); Roman domination (197); Tiridates II (216); Artavasd named governor by Persia (253); Chosroes (261–271); Persian domination (271–286); Tiridates III (287).

Armenia included a number of territories or countries designated as follows: (*a*) Ararat, including the districts of Araxiana,[27] Chirac,[28] Vanande,[29] Bassen,[30] Bagrevand,[31] Sunik,[32] Minor Media,[33] Oudi and Artzakh, inhabited principally by Albani;[34] (*b*) Gougark and Taïk,[35] inhabited principally by the Virk;[36] (*c*) Vaspouracan;[37] (*d*) Mocs, to the south of the Lake of Van; (*e*) Taron,[38] (*f*) Karenitide [39] including the district of Derdjan; (*g*) Sophene [40] and (*h*) Arzen.[41]

The kingdom of Armenia, modeled upon the lines of the old monarchies of the Orient, was composed of regions and countries devoid of homogeneity and which the landed proprietors divided among themselves. This rule obtained even in the days when the limits of Armenia were much circumscribed. The chiefs of these families called Nakharar, Iscpkan, Bdeïchk, Khahap or Sadrape, held the land under an hereditary title. There was no central power, nor regular army, nor organized justice. The system which prevailed was typically feudal.

[27] Valarsapat.
[28] Ani.
[29] Kars.
[30] Hassan-Kale.
[31] Alachkert.
[32] Karabagh.
[33] Her-Khoï.
[34] The Albani, known to Armenian writers as the Aghouans, who embraced Christianity during the fourth century, were finally merged into the Armenians.
[35] Ardahan.
[36] Georgians.
[37] Van.
[38] Bitlis and Mouche.
[39] Erzroum.
[40] Kharpout.
[41] Arzanene, Arghi, Diarbekir.

The lords were the vassals of the king but this did not prevent them from carrying on war and from ridding themselves of a prince who no longer suited them. The king had his estates and his personal income, just as did the lords of the country. The Arsacid kings were the owners of the plains of Araxiana and of Bagrevand, besides possessing estates and castles in Akilisene, Sophene and Taron. A certain number of dignitaries were directly dependent upon the pleasure of the king such as the office of Hazarapet or collector of revenue in rural districts, the commandership of the royal troops (which became hereditary), and the trust of Mardpet or guardian of the domestic household which carried with it the administration of the royal estates.

The number of feudal families who divided the soil among themselves was very great. Some of these were as wealthy as the royal house; their chiefs were accorded precedence at court and punctiliously observed the rules established by the protocol. The Bagratid family, which apparently occupied the post of highest honor, was originally a sacerdotal family. The title of Aspet was accorded the Bagratids and it was their privilege to crown the king. They possessed the districts of Sper, Vanand and Elhirae. During the sixth century they acquired added importance as kings of a part of Armenia. Another family of great nobles was that of Camsaracan. It was of Parthian or Pahlavian origin and enjoyed great prestige on account of its relationship to the Arsacids. The celebrated family of Mamiconian, also of foreign origin, perhaps hailing from Sogdiana, appears to have emigrated to Armenia during the days of Tiridates II. The house possessed im-

portant estates to the north of Taron. Celebrated as warriors its members bore the title of Sparapet or commanders of the royal troops, which charge was hereditary in the family and so remained even after the fall of the royalty. They were renowned for the austerity of their habits, their sense of duty and their loyalty to their friends. The powerful family of Arzrounis,[42] which traced its ancestry to the days of the kings of Ourartou, at first possessed the district of Azen, to the south of Taronctid and then also the country of Van, which was obtained during the days of the Median conquest. The policy of the Arzrounis consisted in living on good terms with both the Sassanid dynasty and the Califs. The Bagratids, the Mamiconians and the Arzrounis all enjoyed high favor at the court of Byzantium. Their warlike valor attained for them great fame in the Byzantine armies. Another family not less celebrated was the house of Sunik [43] which took its origin from the Saces and which settled in the district to the east of the Lake of Sevan,[44] as early as the eighth century before Christ. They were related by blood to the Bagratids and even to the Sassanids. The Rouchtounis, who were likewise descendants of the kings of Ourartou and held important demesnes to the south of Lake Van, were dispossessed thereof by the Arzrounis, during the expeditions of Sapor II. The family, however, did not disappear and several of the name were connected with Armenian affairs during the days of Byzantium and of the Arabs.

[42] The family also bore the name of Vaspouracan, a title conferred by the kings of Persia.

[43] Sanides.

[44] Sevanga.

The Armenian people was not divided into castes as obtained among certain of the people of the Caucasus. To that nucleus formed by the Armeno-Haï tribes was joined a part of the ancient inhabitants of Ararat, the fusion thus produced having been the result either of conquest or of political interest. In Armenia there were but two classes of men: the landed proprietors or the nobility on the one hand and the proletariat on the other. The right of heredity in the possession of the soil was the corner stone of the social organization. The chief of the family absorbed in his person all of the attributes of the family; his sons and grandsons and their wives owed him and accorded him implicit obedience. A father did not surrender his daughter except in exchange for a present. Among the people, where the smallness of their resources necessarily limited the number of wives, domestic life was calm and affectionate. Among the nobility polygamy was indulged in and the wealthy had numerous wives. In society built along such lines organized justice could not find a footing. Crimes were punished if and as it might happen to suit the king or the lord. Torture was the basic penalty. Criminals as well as those accused of crime were thrown into dungeons. The condemned were either decapitated or stoned to death, as obtained among the Persians. The eyes of political prisoners were put out. The lords as well as the poor were steeped in the depths of ignorance. The Armenians, not being able to write their language until the middle of the fifth century, A. D., remained in intellectual darkness for many ages, and were therefore long compelled to content themselves with oral traditions and the songs of troubadours.

The Armenians as a rule believed in the existence of invisible spirits and in the influence which they were supposed to exercise over the life of man. The spirits were either good (Katchk) or bad (Aïss). The good spirits were the authors of good and the bad spirits of evil. Credence was placed in all kinds of fantastic beings, as well as in magic and in witchcraft. It was believed that these spirits sometimes took the form of monsters, such as dragons, of men with the head of a dog, known as Aralez, or of hideous wild bulls having their habitat in the beds of lakes and rivers.

The worship of oracles was carried on at Armavir in a manner similar to that obtaining among the Pelasgians, the Armens having transported this practice to the table-land of Ararat, their new fatherland. The oracle gave forth its decree amidst the gentle rustling of a sacred platane called Soss.[45] This was an attribution of a living soul to inanimate objects and a belief in powerful anthropomorphic spirits who made their voices heard when the wind blew in sacred spots, such as recalls the Jehovah of the Hebrews.

The worship of Armavir was, after a short while, supplanted by Asiatic paganism and more particularly by the worship of the great goddess Anahit or Anaïtis,[46] who was the goddess of love, the foremost female of the world, and the source of life, strength and wisdom. Her worship was spread

[45] The Roman Platanum Armeniacum.

[46] The name Anahit, which the Persians applied to the Asiatic goddess, having borrowed the title from the Zoroastrian text, was adopted by the Armenians during the days of Persian domination. It is known that her golden statue of the temple of Erez was carried away by the Romans at the time of Antony's expedition.

through Asia Minor, the Pont and Cappadocia, and obtained at Erez in Akilisene and Aslichat in Taron. The Cult of Anahit ended by assuming a national character among the Armenians. She was referred to as Queen Anahit, the great goddess, the glory and the providence of the nation. Her most solemn feast was celebrated when the roses are blooming in their greatest splendor. She was also known as Vardavar, the bearer of roses. By the side of Anahit reigned Vahagn and Astghik, forming with her a species of trinity in the primitive pantheon of Armenia. Vahagn was essentially the masculine god and was looked upon as the destroyer of monsters, the god of valor. It would appear as if he were the Semitic Baal and comparable to the Hercules of the Greeks. His name Vahagn is an abbreviation of the Sanscrit appellation Veretraghna. Astghik, the little star, was the goddess of voluptuousness, the protectress of woman. She was probably the Babylonian Nane or Nana.

Armenian paganism took a new forward bound when, as a sequel to the conquests of Tigranes, the galaxy of divinities was enriched by new gods and goddesses imported from Asia Minor and Syria. Zeus, Athenaia, Apollo, Mihr, Baal-Samen were adopted by the Armenians, who did so all the more readily because they had been initiated into their worship during the days of the Seleucid domination. The names, which were given to these gods, were borrowed from the Avesta because it was a custom among the Armenians to apply to all ideas connected with religion a nomenclature borrowed from the Zend. Zeus became Aramazd, the creator of heaven and earth, the father of the gods. Apollo

was called Tir. Temples in their honor were not erected in Van but with this exception they were built more or less everywhere in Akilisene, at Artachat, Pagaran and Astichat. The priests of this latter locality constituted a caste and styled themselves Vahounik.

These Zoroastrian names, similar to other names borrowed from Mazdaian theology, have given rise to the supposition that the Armenians practiced the religion of Zoroaster or at any rate that the cult of the sacred fire was observed during the days of Persian hegemony. There were perhaps a few families and a few princes who followed this religion but at all events the gods of the Armenian Pantheon personified other religious ideas and were of a distinctly Asiatic character. It may be added that during the days of the Sassanid dynasty the Armenians gave abundant proof of the intense aversion felt by them for the practices of Iranian Mazdaism.

CHAPTER III

The conversion to Christianity; the Patriarchate and the Armenian Church; the dawn of Armenian literature.

It was at the very dawn of the fourth century that Christianity became the dominant religion of Armenia.[1] The new faith had already taken deep root in the country and had many adherents, but the legends which surround its early days are such as to make it impossible to gauge the circumstances which brought about the conversion of Tiridates III and of the court. The chroniclers and the National Church award to Clovis of Armenia the title of Great and place him among the hierarchy of the saints in appreciation of the commanding part taken by him in the marvelous work incident to bringing about the official conversion. It was undoubtedly through Cappadocia and Osrhoene that Christianity made its way into Armenia, but of its early days nothing is known and the same want of accurate information obtains as to its spread until the commencement of the fourth century witnessed the conversion of Tiridates. It is true that legend, handed down by Armenian chroniclers, has it that the apostle Thadeus brought about the first conversions but this statement lacks historical confirmation.

[1] The exact date cannot be established. Mgr. Ormanian declares unequivocally that the conversion took place in 301, others with equal certainty agree upon 304 or 305; while still other critics fix the date at 285.

According to the best available lights Tiridates was a ruler of consummate tact and, having carefully summed up the situation, had the foresight to rely for his support upon the growing Christian party. It would appear that this line of policy was urged upon him by the royal secretary, Gregory, who had embraced the new faith. The conversion of Tiridates did not fail to give rise to various legends, one of which attributes his adoption of Christianity to two Christian virgins of entrancing beauty, Gaiane and Hribsime, who had taken refuge in Armenia during the days of the persecution of Diocletian. Tiridates cast longing eyes upon them and they suffered martyrdom rather than yield to his embraces. Another legend has it that Tiridates gained for Gregory a martyr's crown by having him thrown into a dungeon.

This Gregory was the son of a Parthian noble, established in Armenia, whose family had participated in the murder of the father of Tiridates. He had been sent to Cæsarea while still very young, in order to learn Greek and prepare himself to fill the office of Royal Secretary, which appears to have been a charge devolving upon his family. It was there that he embraced the new faith and was christened Gregory. He was able, upon his return to Armenia, to ingratiate himself into the king's favor and to win the good will of the court and of the nobles and he became the great apostle of Armenia. His sons, Vartanes and Aristaches, also went to Cæsarea, in order to pursue the course of studies and prepare themselves for the career followed by their father. No one was more worthy of the rank and dignity of bishop of the new cult than the zealous Christian

who had brought about the official conversion of Armenia. This honor was conferred upon him by Tiridates, who sent him in great pomp to Cæsarea so that he might receive the necessary episcopal consecration from the Metropolitan of that city. In order to carry out his mission Gregory surrounded himself with a numerous clergy recruited in Syria and in Cappadocia and thus was he able to spread knowledge of the faith through Armenia. His younger son, Aristaches, who had been raised to the episcopacy, became his father's collaborator and continued to work while his father, a victim of the hatred of enemies, secluded himself from the world and devoted himself to a life of asceticism. If the national chronicles may be accepted as accurate Gregory was still living when the bishops of Armenia were summoned to attend the council of Nicæa, which Constantine convened in 325 in the hope of putting an end to religious dissensions. It was Aristaches who promulgated, in Armenia, the Nicæan.[2]

The work accomplished by Gregory gained for him the title of the Illuminator, an honor which he signally merited when the brilliancy of his achievement is considered. The glory of his resplendent figure has been handed down by the Armenian people from age to age and the National Church, with fitting justice, places him in the first rank of her galaxy of saints. The part played by Tiridates in this civilizing movement yielded in no sense to the

[2] The following are the first Patriarchs of Armenia (House of Gregory): Gregory the Illuminator (301), his sons Aristaches (325) and Vartanes (332); Toussic, son of Vartanes and son-in-law of Viran (339); Pharene (347); Nerses, the last Patriarch consecrated at Cæsarea (352); Sahak, Zaren and Aspourages (373–386), Sahak, son of Nerses (387–439).

brilliant record of Gregory. This prince, who contributed so largely to the national evolution, may well be considered the most illustrious of his dynasty. The same fate, however, awaited him as befell the better part of the princes of his family. A plot was formed against him and a violent death meted out to him about the year 330. Just as his predecessors had been unable to hold in check the great nobles of the kingdom, Tiridates was compelled to contend against a movement fomented by Persia and participated in by the Armenian nobility. Shapur II, King of Persia, viewing with concern the progress of Christianity, incessantly encouraged these intrigues and plots against Tiridates. The Armenian king was wounded during a hunting expedition and while in this condition was given poison by his chamberlain who formed part of the conspiracy against the life of the Sovereign..

His son Chosroes II reigned in peace and enjoyed sufficient leisure to be able to found a new city, Dovine or Trine, not far from Valarsapat, but on a more elevated site. This new city became the capital of Armenia during the days of the Sassanids and of the Arabs. Tiran, the grandson of Tiridates, had, however, hardly ascended the throne before he fell into a snare which was laid for him by Shapur II. He was accused of having espoused the cause of Rome and he was thrown into prison, after his enemies had first put out his eyes (349). When Tiran's son, known to history under the generic name of Arsace, came to the throne, he sought in vain to humble the nobles, but in the midst of the many difficulties engendered by the war between the Romans and the Persians, he was unable to accom-

plish his purpose. He was supported for a moment by the power of Rome but was compelled to take flight as a result of the civil war set in motion by the Arzrounis and other partizans of Persia. When finally he consented to present himself before Shapur, in order to fulfill his duty, he was seized and thrown into a castle, where, driven to desperation and out of sheer despair, he killed himself (367). His general-in-chief, Vassak Mamiconian, who accompanied him, was skinned alive and his body suspended at the gate of the prison. The same fate befell the king's son, Papa, who sought to carry out a policy of maintaining good relations, at one and the same time, with both Rome and Persia. The Roman Emperor Valens, who suspected Papa, caused him to fall into a trap laid for him by Trajan, who commanded the Roman legions quartered in Armenia.

These conditions made the throne of Armenia absolutely untenable. The partizans of royalty, the Mamiconians, thought that they could solve the difficulty by calling to power at the same time the two sons of Papa, to one of whom they offered that portion of Armenia bordering upon Persia, and to the other that zone contiguous to the Roman Empire. This plan proved to be of no avail. Theodosius, who had but recently ascended the Imperial throne, preferring to live in peace with Persia, agreed to a partition of Armenia (384) along lines proposed by Shapur II, several years previously. Thus the greater portion of the country became a vassal state of Persia and the remainder, including Karenitide, Sophene and a part of Taronitide, a Roman province. The last scions of the Arsacids,

Chosroes, Vram-Schapouh and Artaschir, continued to reign over that part assigned to the Sassanids until Bahram V decided in 428 to convert it into a Persian province. Thus was wrecked the dynasty of Armenian Arsacids, which the Roman ægis had safeguarded until the days of Theodosius I. The rivalry of contiguous powers had contributed to this fall, but internal dissensions had enormously facilitated the work of external foes.[3]

The conversion of Tiridates and the rank and dignity of primate which he as king had conferred upon Gregory, had resulted in bringing the Armenian Church into being without any extraneous intervention of any kind and without the interposition of any other church or ecclesiastical authority whatsoever. The foundation of the Armenian Church was therefore preëminently and exclusively a national work and accordingly from its very inçeption this institution had its own constitution. The successors of Gregory were his sons, his grandson and his great grandsons, Nerses and Sahak.[4] As the last named left no male descendants, the see was occupied from that moment by monks, in accordance with the custom obtaining in the Church of the Orient. Many of these prelates maintained inviolate the prestige attached to their high office and were able to exercise a commanding authority over great and small. They began by assuming the title adopted by the chiefs of the churches of Iberia and of Persia; that is

[3] Chronology of Christian Arsacids: Tiridates III (287), Chosroes II (330), Tiran (338), Arsace (349), Papa (368), Varazdat (374), Persian occupation (379), Arsaces and Valarses (379–384), Partition of Armenia (384), Chosroes III (384), Vramshapouh (387), Chosroes (2nd incumbency) (419), Artaschir (423–428).

[4] Isaac.

by styling themselves *Catholicos,* a Greek appellation corresponding to that of universal primate. Drawing their powers from the high rank ascribed to the sacerdotal state, the Catholicos were always surrounded with every possible consideration. They became the representatives of the nation, played an important part in political affairs, and constituted a species of civil authority which, as time rolled by, was respected even by the foreign conquerors whether they were Byzantine, Persian, Arab or Turkish.

The first Patriarchs established their see at Valarsapat,[5] under the shadow of the Arsacids and in this way abandoned the first church founded by Gregory at Aschetichat in Taron, on the site of the old temple of Anahit. It was towards the end of the fifth century that John Mandacouni (478–490) transferred the ecclesiastical seat to Dovine, the capital of Persarmenia. The legend of the church of Valarsapat had not yet sprung into being and the basilica there situate had not at that moment acquired the importance which it assumed in the seventh century, when Catholicos Comitas (615–628) brought about the reconstruction of the church which had fallen into ruins.

The national character of the Armenian Church was emphasized by the creation in the fifth century of an Armenian literature followed practically simultaneously by the translation of the Holy Books. Until that date the Bible and the ritual had always been read either in Greek or Syriac followed by an immediate translation into the vernacular. The Armenian Church still preserves most of her ancient tra-

[5] Etchmiazin.

ditions. She honors the saints and martyrs of the early Christians and has sanctified such of her own children as have lent luster to her foundation or as have sacrificed their lives in the defense of their faith. Icons have never attained, in Armenia, that ascendancy which they have obtained in other churches. The clergy, which in most cases is elected by the faithful, in no sense forms a caste, and refrains from participating in politics.

The computation of time established by the Armenian Church, which takes as its basis not the days of the month but those of the week, fixes the feasts of the Church in a manner somewhat different from that followed by the Greek Church. The great feasts are Theophany [6] which is celebrated on January 6th (Julian Calendar) as was the case during the early days of Christianity; Easter, calculated according to the old style; Ascension, the 40th day after Easter; Pentecost, the 10th day after Ascension; Transfiguration or Vardavar, the 7th Sunday after Pentecost; the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Sunday nearest to August 15th; the Exaltation of the Cross, the Sunday between the 11th and 17th of September (old style).

Sundays are dedicated exclusively to the Resurrection or to any other dominical feast; Wednesdays and Fridays are reserved for penitential liturgies and for abstinence.

The Armenian bishops took no part in that bitter religious strife which waged during the fourth and fifth centuries in respect to the nature of Christ. They confined themselves to accepting, purely and simply, the decisions emanating from the councils of

[6] Christmas and Epiphany.

Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431). The dogmas propounded by these three Œcumenical councils were accepted alike by the Church of the Orient and by that of the Occident as embodying the essential principles of Orthodoxy and accordingly the Armenian-ecclesiastical authorities yielded implicit obedience thereto but at no time recognized as binding upon them any other enunciations emanating from any other international conclave. In Armenia the decrees of the council of Chalcedon did not give rise to any general interest, for, at that time (450–484), the whole population was engaged in a struggle against Persia in defense of the faith and therefore was involved in the performance of a duty too solemn to permit of any participation in those purely controversial questions which were then dividing the Christian world into hostile camps. The Armenian bishops, who had been cruelly disappointed in not receiving the help of the Emperor, bore a bitter resentment against the Greek clergy on account of their crafty policy. The Armenian Church espoused the cause of the see of Alexandria, whose Orthodoxy had never been questioned, and, even for a moment, accepted the terms of the Henotikon or the edict of union promulgated by the Emperor Zeno. The innate repugnance which the national clergy felt for the new doctrines enunciated by the council of Chalcedon so incensed the Byzantine ecclesiastical dignitaries that the Armenian Church was denounced by the latter as heretical. The Armenians not only ignored this finding but Catholicos Babghen (506) convened a conclave of bishops who anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches as heresiarchs and devoted itself to an ener-

getic refutation of the decisions handed down at Chalcedon.[7] From and after this moment the Armenians definitely broke off all spiritual communion with the Greek and Roman Churches.

The Armenian Church accepts as the basic principles of Christianity the dogmatic definitions formulated by the first three Œcumenical councils; the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Redemption. Any other article of faith or any other doctrinal question may be accepted or rejected either in pursuance of a decision arrived at by a given council of the Church or in accordance with an interpretation adhered to on the authority of a recognized doctor of the Church, without in any sense impairing the unity of faith which links together all members of the same church. It is essential, however, that the opinion, thus adhered to, be in no sense at variance with those fundamental doctrines sanctioned by the first three Œcumenical councils. This broad comprehensive view of Christianity, this liberalism in its truest sense, has resulted in instilling into the Armenian Church a spirit of toleration and forbearance truly consonant with that doctrine of peace and good will to all men which underlies those principles sanctified on Calvary. Standing immovable and inflexible in all primordial matters of faith and morals the National Church, appealing to its countless martyrs in confirmation of the divinity of its mission, allows its communicants, in all non-essentials, the exercise of the widest individual latitude.

[7] As a matter of fact the Armenian Church professes the superiority of the divine nature of Christ and is therefore Monophysite, just as was the Church of Alexandria. The Armenian must not, however, be confused with the Jacobite Church which became heir to the Monophysite doctrine of Eutyches.

While Armenian royalty was in the throes of dissolution a truly national event occurred which was destined to play an important part in the history of the country, for it was then that the Armenian alphabet was evolved. This accomplishment was the work of two celebrated men; one of whom was the Patriarch, Sahak, the last descendant of Gregory, and the other, his collaborator, Mesrop,[8] who was a native of the district of Taron,[9] a scion of a noble family, a man of great erudition and well versed in all matters both civil and military. Before entering Holy Orders he had been the Royal Secretary. His religious zeal and ardent patriotism suggested to him the idea of translating the Sacred Writings. He communicated his project to Sahak and the two collaborators sought the aid of the king, Vramschapouh, in the execution of an undertaking destined to obviate the necessity of drafting all royal deeds either in Greek or Syriac.

After eight years of research and effort, (404), Mesrop devised the thirty-six letters of the Armenian alphabet which reproduce all of the sounds of that language. In comprising the characters of the most ancient Armenian manuscripts, the letters ՠ, բ, գ, դ, ե, զ, է, ը, թ, ժ, ի, լ, խ, ծ, կ, հ, ձ, ղ, ճ, մ, յ, ն, շ, ո, չ, պ, ջ, ռ, ս, վ, տ, ր, ց: Ա, Բ, Գ, Դ, Ե, Զ, Է, Ը, Թ, Ի, Լ, Խ, Ծ, Կ, Հ, Ձ, Ղ, Ճ, Մ, Յ, Ն, Շ, Ո, Չ, Պ, Ջ, Ռ, Ս, Վ, Տ, Ր, Ց, resemble the old characters of the Greek alphabet with a few curves added to or removed therefrom. The origin of the letters ք, օ, ֆ, ւ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ, ֆ: Ք, Օ, Ֆ, Ւ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ, Ֆ,

[8] Also known as Maschthotz.
[9] Mouche.

has not as yet been determined, although several of them seem to be derived from the Syriac.

The work of Mesrop appeared to his contemporaries to be so marvelous a production that his disciple Corune saw therein a divine revelation. Owing to the want of accurate information, subsequent chroniclers were forced to be satisfied with more or less vague explanations as to the formation of the Armenian alphabet. One thing, however, is definitely known and that is that before Mesrop's contribution to phonetics no attempt had ever been made with any other characters to transliterate that aggregate of sounds which constitutes the Armenian language.

The first work undertaken was the translation of the Bible, and to accomplish this result Sahak, Mesrop and a group of their pupils devoted their united efforts. They began with the Syriac text but discarded it and adopted the Greek version known as the Septuagint. The work took many years of arduous toil and was completed in 433. They then translated, or composed, the liturgy of Saint Basil of Cæsarea. Certain customs, borrowed from paganism, which Gregory had transformed into Christian rites, were incorporated into this work, which, as a result of these interpolations, has caused the ritual of the Armenians to differ somewhat from that of the Greek Church. It may be said that the translation of the Sacred Books created the literary language. The work of Mesrop impressed a distinct individuality upon the National Church with the result that this eminently National Church and exclusively National written language assured to the Armenian people, through the ages, a consciousness of

their own particular existence such as no other agency could possibly have engendered. Thus no names are more venerated in all history by the people of Armenia than those of Sahak and Mesrop and their memory is held in high honor by the National Church. Mesrop died in 439 or 440 a few months after his collaborator had passed away.

As soon as the alphabet had been transcribed the Armenian language blossomed forth, enriched with a most extensive vocabulary and supplied with the entire paraphernalia necessary for reproducing in a most striking and faithful manner the entire répertoire of sacred literature. This vocabulary possesses an originality and flexibility of incomparable literary adaptability and has all of that lyricism which at once recalls the Hebraic poetry of old. Great as may have been the genius of Mesrop and of his associates no instrument so powerful could have been called into being under the inspiration of the hour. Their work displays that infinite patience, great erudition, and incomparable power of assimilation which are the hall-marks of genius.

A half century ago the Armenian language was considered to be a language standing in a sphere all its own. Since then Peterman, De Lagarde, Hubschmann and Muller have been able to trace it to its original source. It is allied to the western branch of Aryan languages rather than to the Iranian branch. Recourse has, however, been had to Pahlavi and to Syriac, not for the fundamental structure of the language, but for the purpose of enriching its vocabulary. The phonetic formation has naturally been modified as a result of contact with the dialects of Asia Minor and of the Caucasus.

The literary movement in Armenia was confined to the limited circle of monks and ecclesiastics, whose intellectual activity drifted principally towards a study of the Sacred Books, theology, dogmatics, homilies and religious poetry. These clerics, nevertheless, dealt with a few philosophical subjects, biography, history and chronicles. The historians were, however, wanting in the necessary critical sense, philosophical turn of mind and proper conception of synthesis. A refutation of the religious sects of Eznik, issued by the original school of translators, is deemed to be a gem of Armenian literature. There the language shines forth in all of its brilliancy. The history of Fautus of Byzantium also dates from this same epoch. It abounds in descriptions of a genuine wealth of coloring but the style partakes somewhat of the conversational manner of speaking prevalent at that period and the work, therefore, as a whole, deviates from the standard of the classics. The book of Agathangel, or the marvelous narrative of the conversion of Armenia, is also one of the works of the translators, perhaps of Corune, who likewise wrote a biography of Mesrop. The history of Moses of Khorene contains the first attempt to publish a general history from the earliest times to the fall of the Arsacids. The composition of this work, such as it is known to-day, may be attributed to the seventh or even to the eighth century.

Not a century has passed but that the language crystallized by the translators has been subjected to trials which have caused it to lose some of its pristine qualities. With the Arab invasion, Armenian literature felt the vexatious influence of Oriental litera-

ture abounding in metaphors, and prolific in introducing into the narrative digressions of interminable length. Under the Tatars and Turks this literary decadence reached its lowest ebb and during the eighteenth century the Armenian language underwent such a metamorphosis as to make the original tongue unrecognizable. Had it not been for the work of the Mekhitarists, a congregation of Armenians established at Venice, and the impulsion given to public education, the Armenian language would have degenerated into a liturgical medium absolutely unintelligible to the nation.

CHAPTER IV

Armenia under the domination of the Byzantine Empire, the Sassanids and the Arabs.

THE government of those Armenian provinces allotted to the Empire had been confided by Theodosius to a magistrate having the rank and dignity of a Roman count. The country formed a military territory where no essential modifications were introduced until the reign of Zeno, or, it may be said, until that of Justinian. The nobles were permitted to enjoy most of their ancient privileges, such as their hereditary right to the possession of their estates and the incident feudal appanages. They also continued to have their own banners and their men-at-arms. Following the example of the Roman Emperors who had built the great fortresses of Melitene and of Amida, Theodosius II (408–450) caused the town of Carine [1] to be fortified in order to facilitate the defense of his new dominions against the Persians.

Byzantine Armenia was enjoying the blessings of peace, when, during the reign of Zeno, (416–491), the nobles of the districts of Sophene and of Hantsid fomented an insurrection because Imperial agents interfered in their affairs. Thereupon Zeno suppressed the appanages before referred to and replaced the Armenians, who until then served in the Imperial guard, by appointing in their places Isauri-

[1] Theodosopolis.

ans, his fellow countrymen. Such vexatious measures did not, however, lessen the devotion which the people and clergy felt towards the Emperor who had devoted his efforts to appease religious quarrels. Likewise during the reign of Anastasius, Byzantine Armenia had no serious cause of complaint when the war broke out which Kavadh declared against the Empire.

That portion of Armenia which, as a result of the partition, fell to the Sassanids, and which Byzantine writers style Persarmenia, preserved intact its ancient organization; all seigniorages remained inviolate and the national militia was not disbanded. Autonomy obtained in fact and the situation created as a consequence of the abolition of the Armenian royal line involved no insupportable conditions. The Sassanids contented themselves with nominating a high commissioner, a magistrate exercising both civil and military attributes, chosen among the dignitaries of the court. The official thus chosen bore the title of Marzpan. The only thing that disturbed the peace of Persarmenia during this period was the religious movement of Yazdegert II and of Peroze, which lasted for fifty years. Among the nobles who made their voice felt in the affairs of the country, may be distinguished Vahane Amatouni designated *Házarapet;* Sahak, the chief of the Bagratids; Vassak Suni and Vardane Mamiconian. Vassak was related to the Sassanids. He won the favor of Bahram V and through the influence thus obtained was nominated Marzpan of Iberia and later was appointed to the same post in Armenia. Vardane, who was the maternal grandson of the Armenian Patriarch Sahak, was placed in command of

the national militia. He continued to enjoy the title of *Stratelat* conferred upon him by Theodosius II. He was the foremost man of the country and the recognized chief of the national party.

Yazdegert II, King of Persia, decided to act upon the advice of his chief minister, Mihr-Naresh, and not only to banish Christianity from his realm but to seek to blend all peoples into one whole through the medium of an universal religion. He therefore issued an edict making compulsory the profession of Mazdaism (449). On the other hand the new Marzpan, Vassak Suni, did his utmost, in Iberia and Armenia, to break down the courage of the Christians. The Armenians, however, exasperated at such practices, revolted and Vardane Mamiconian, at the head of his troops, marched towards the frontier, against the Persians who sought, by force of arms, to enforce the execution of the royal decree. The higher clergy accompanied Vardane and the Patriarch, Joseph, by his presence and his counsel exhorted the defenders of the Christian faith. The battle took place at Avaraïr, in Asia Minor. Vardane, after having conducted himself in a most heroic manner together with more than a thousand of his soldiers, fell mortally wounded upon the field of battle. Nevertheless he did not die in vain, for so great were the ravages which he worked among the Persian ranks that the enemy was unable to pursue its advantage, and thus though Armenian arms suffered a military defeat, Christianity emerged victorious from the clash. The Armenian Church has never forgotten this memorable hour when Christianity successfully resisted the attack directed against it. To this day homage is rendered to the memory of

Vardane and to all who, with him, gave their lives in defense of the faith.

Religious liberty was safeguarded but persecutions and vexatious practices continued during the reign of Peroz. A revolution broke out during the incumbency of this king, at the head of which was Vahane Mamiconian, a nephew of Vardane Mamiconian. The Persian army was continuously harassed and compelled to keep on the defensive; finally Valarse, the successor of Peroz, decided to subdue Armenia by resorting to a policy of mildness and toleration. Vahane betook himself to the king and was by him nominated *Marzpan* of Armenia. The Christian party triumphed and Vahane who ingratiated himself into the good graces of Kavadh, sought to repair the damage which had been done and was able to maintain the country in tranquillity for a quarter of a century. His brother Varde, however, was not able to maintain the High Commissionership for more than three years as he was suspected by Kavadh of having espoused the Byzantine cause in the war which broke out about this time.

The war which Kavadh declared in 502 against the Byzantine Emperor, Anastasius, was destined to last, in one form or another, for a century and a half and in the end to exhaust both Persia and the Empire of the Orient. Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor became the theater of this interminable strife. Both belligerents crossed and recrossed, and ravaged and pillaged these countries; first the one and then the other. The Persians first captured Theodosopolis. The following year Amida fell into their hands after a long siege during which thousands of inhabitants perished. Anasta-

sius was compelled to pay an indemnity of 11,000 pounds in gold in order to obtain the retrocession of these fortresses and the cessation of hostilities (506). The war was renewed twenty years later under Justinian I and continued until Chosroes ascended the throne in 531. The flames of war burst forth again in 540, but this time under the color of answering an appeal for help sent out by Byzantine Armenia which had been sorely tried and severely punished as the result of a revolution which had broken out about this time.

The governorship of Byzantine Armenia had been confided, by Justinian, in 528, to his brother-in-law, Sittas, a general,[2] and then to the Armenian Hamazasp Mamiconian. The latter was removed from office and condemned to death upon an unconfirmed suspicion of holding illegal commerce with the Persian enemy. The people, driven to desperation by the oppressions heaped upon them by his successor, revolted and, taking up arms, appealed for help to the Persian king.

Not only were the Armenians harassed by all kinds of exactions imposed upon them and subjected to great hardship through manifold excesses perpetrated upon them by over zealous governors, who treated them as enemies, but they began to be persecuted by the Byzantine clergy from the moment Justin I set himself up as the protector of Orthodoxy. In order to divide the Armenians, whose tenacity of purpose and loyalty to the faith of their fathers exasperated the Byzantine clergy, Justinian and his successors devised the plan of transporting large

[2] Sittas created a new and important administrative subdivision of the country.

numbers of Armenians to Thrace. The places thus left vacant were filled by Bulgarian colonists. Notwithstanding these cruel practices and the religious hatred engendered thereby, the Armenians did not fail to enlist in the Byzantine armies and on many occasions during the wars against the Persians and the Arabs in Asia and against the Bulgarians and the Avars in Europe they were found fighting foremost in the ranks of the troops of the Eastern Empire. Many of the most illustrious officers of the Byzantine armies were Armenians.

Persian Armenia suffered but little during the first period of the war between Persia and Rome. During this epoch the country was administered by Bourghane, Den-Schapour, Bahram and Varazdat, Persian officials who understood the art of maintaining order and at the same time respecting the wishes of the nation. The Armenian nobles, led by the Mamiconians, did not stir up trouble. Besides, the Persian king, Chosroes, treated his Christian subjects with clemency. He showed great tact in his relations with the Armenians, even though he was essentially Oriental in all respects and they on the other hand sympathized with the Occident. In 546 the King of Persia designated as Marzpan a prince related to the royal family, named Surene. This governor, departing from the line of conduct adhered to by his sovereign, was very cruel and took up an attitude of distinct hostility to the nobles. Besides so conducting himself he resolved to impose upon the people the religion taught by the ancient Persian priestly caste, the Magi, and in order to carry out this purpose he caused a temple to be erected at Dovine to the God of Fire. A revolu-

tion broke out when he put to death the chief of the National party, Manuel Mamiconian, who was reported to have acted in concert with Byzantium. The Patriarch, John II, and Vardane, the brother of Manuel, put themselves at the head of the people, whose religious ardor had been stirred to the very depth of their soul, and in their indignation they put to death Surene and his body-guard, as well as the Magi (571).

Inasmuch as a state of war existed at this time between Byzantium and Persia, the revolt unchained by Vardane became the signal for the renewal of active hostilities between the two states, when the Emperor Justinian II declared that he took Armenia and Iberia under his protection. The Persians at once invaded Mesopotamia and Syria and compelled Justinian to pay an indemnity of 45,000 pounds in gold in order to obtain an armistice. As the revolt continued in Persarmenia and as Chosroes suspected that Byzantine intrigues were not foreign to this disturbance, the truce was broken in short order. Chosroes put himself at the head of his troops and set out to invade Melitene and Cappadocia. This time, however, the Byzantines, among whom fought Vardane, won a signal victory. The King of Persia was forced to take to flight. Great booty fell into the hands of the victors. The queen was made a prisoner and the royal tent was captured, including the sacred fire or Atache which was always carried wherever the king went. Persarmenia was occupied, but evacuated pursuant to the terms of a new armistice concluded in 578. The retreat of the Byzantine forces put an end to the insurrection and

at the same time Chosroes decreed a general amnesty.

The throne of the Cæsars was now filled by Maurice who, contrary to precedent, declared that he would protect the Sassanid dynasty. He thereupon sustained Chosroes II, (590–628), against his internal enemies and, to show his appreciation, the King of Persia turned over to Maurice the fortresses of Mesopotamia. He also surrendered to the latter that portion of Persarmenia lying between the western shore of the Lake of Van and the Valley of the Kour, with the exception of Dovine. Tranquillity had reigned for twelve years when Chosroes, upon the pretext of avenging Maurice, renewed hostilities. At the outset the Persians met with success, to such an extent that in 608 Chosroes reached the capital of Chalcedon on the one hand and on the other entered Palestine, as far as Jerusalem. Heraclius, however, who had organized a formidable army, was soon able to dislodge the Persians. During his first campaign he disembarked in Cilicia in order to retake Antioch and Jerusalem. In a second campaign he reached Armenia by way of Trebizond and continuing his march he rushed ahead as far as Ctesiphon, having routed Chosroes in the interval. Persia thereupon signed terms of peace, (629), reëstablishing conditions obtaining during the days of the Emperor Maurice.

The governorship of Persarmenia had been allotted by Kavadh II, (628), to Varaz-Tirotz Bagratid. The Armenian Marzpan, who did his utmost to repair the damage caused by the war, was almost at once exposed to the menaces of the Satrap of

Aderbeijan, as well as to those of the Armenian general, Mjej-Gnouni, who commanded the Byzantine forces stationed on the frontier. This soldier forced the reigning Catholicos Ezr to agree to a ritual union with Byzantium.

These untoward conditions so alarmed Varaz-Tirotz that he became alarmed and took to flight, bringing his family with him and leaving his country to its fate, after he had held the High Commissionership for seven or eight years.

The bitter fight between the Eastern Empire and Persia had ended by shaking the throne of the Sassanids. The Arabs, who had conquered Egypt and Syria, finally completely overthrew this dynasty (652). The new conquerors, the Hagarians [3] or the Arabs, to apply to them the name under which they are known to the Western world, had already penetrated into southern Armenia (639). This first attack had been repulsed but it left Persarmenia in a precarious situation. The Patriarch, Nerses III, (641–661), thereupon invoked the help of Constans II and through him Varaz-Tirotz, the former Marzpan, was nominated to the chief magistracy and given the title of Curopalate. As the new appointee died within a year of his incumbency, his son, Sembat Bagratid, was appointed to succeed him. Constans gave one of the princesses of his family in marriage to Sembat. In the meantime the Arabs took Naxuana and marched against Dovine in order to sack it. It therefore became necessary to treat

[3] Armenian chroniclers speak of the Arabs as Ismalians but oftener as Hagarians. The name is derived from Hagar, the mother of Ishmael. The term Saracen was also applied by them to the Arabs.

with the Muslims and to recognize the authority of the Caliph (652). Constans II, who had made his way to Dovine at the head of a great army, ostensibly for the purpose of intervening, concerned himself exclusively with religious subjects and more particularly with the question of ritual union. He accordingly returned without accomplishing anything. The Catholicos was menaced by the clergy on account of his conciliatory attitude and was compelled to abandon his see. When the Armenians accepted the suzerainty of the Caliph, Nerses, who in the meantime had been recalled, lent his influence with those in authority at Damascus in order to bring about the appointment of Gregory Mamiconian as Marzpan of the country.

After the country had enjoyed thirty years of tranquillity, Justinian II took advantage of the feebleness of the Caliph and declared war. The reins of government were then in the hands of Achot Bagratid. The patrician, Leoncius, occupied Persarmenia but he allowed it to be pillaged on account of its defection in 687. The Byzantine forces in Persarmenia finally ceased to offer any resistance to the Arabs and that unfortunate country which had been tossed about between powerful rivals since the days of the successes of Heraclius was in the end abandoned to the Caliphate. The Arabs thus dominated a portion of Armenia but they were unable to make a breach in the population or impose their language or their religion upon the people, as they were able to do in Syria and Mesopotamia. A national religion and a distinctly national language, whose very alphabet accentuated its individuality, were entrenchments which no attack could dismantle nor

vexatious practices wear away. The onslaught of Islam was halted at the frontiers of Byzantine Armenia which was better organized and better defended. The commanding general, the Strategus, had at his disposal regular troops and provincial militia capable of effectively opposing any invasion.

Notwithstanding these conditions Byzantine Armenia was not in an enviable situation. The revolt which broke out in 666, during the reign of Constans II, had been put down by the patrician, Nicephorus.[4] While the throne of Byzantium was occupied by Constantine Copronymus, the Strategus, Artavasd, who was a scion of a noble Armenian family, marched against his brother-in-law, the Emperor, in order to dethrone him (743). All of the Armenians who were connected with this insurrectionary movement were either proscribed or put to death. Shortly afterwards another plot was unearthed and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, at the instigation of his mother, Irene, issued orders which resulted in many executions. From the moment that the Isaurian dynasty occupied the throne of the Cæsars, Armenians began to take a greater and greater part in the councils of State of the Empire and in the command of the Byzantine armies. Once again the Imperial Guard was largely composed of Armenians. Among the more illustrious names may be cited: Artavasd Mamiconian, Varaz-Tirotz and Vardane, whom the Byzantines call Bardane. The latter, a patrician and a general, was proclaimed Emperor in

[4] Nicephorus, general and patrician, was a descendant of an Armenian family established at Pergamum. His son, Vardane, who was also raised to the highest military rank, ascended the throne of Byzantium under the title of Philippicus.

802 but was not able to ascend the throne. On the other hand his aide-de-camp, Leo, an Armenian of the house of the Arzrounis, attained this dignity in 813. In addition to these names it may be added that Manuel Mamiconian greatly distinguished himself during the reign of Theophilus on account of his courage and fearlessness.

The Armenian territories annexed to the Empire of the Orient were grouped, during the eighth century, into one and the same circumscription called the *Armeniac Theme*. These territories included Phasiana,[5] Karenitide or Upper Armenia,[6] Sophene and Hantsid [7] and a part of Arzanene.[8] A Strategus or Stratelat, raised to patrician dignity, concentrated in his hands all attributions, military and civil. The militia of this Theme were deemed to be the best soldiers of the Byzantine armies.

The Armenian Church had been able to preserve its independence notwithstanding the policy adhered to by the Emperors in regard to religion and the pressure exerted by them to enforce Byzantine Orthodoxy upon the people. The Armenian clergy considered the National Church to be the bulwark of the liberties of the nation as well as the ultimate and surest safeguard of national existence, and therefore resolutely, unremittingly, patiently and at all hazards stoutly opposed the aggressions of the Cæsars. Moses II,[9] the Catholicos, who was con-

[5] Basen.
[6] Erzroum.
[7] Kharpout.
[8] Myafarkina.
[9] Moses II introduced the ecclesiastical calendar which had been discussed under his predecessor, Nerses II. This reform was defective but it possessed the merit of fixing a national era. This era commences August 11, 551.

strained to go to Constantinople in order to accept the ritual union, upon his return refused to receive orders from the Emperor, Maurice. His successor used every effort to prevent the separation of the Georgians, but all to no avail (608). Another Catholicos, Comitas, saw in the military successes of the Persian king, Chosroes II, an opportunity which might tend to strengthen the National Church, and he accordingly again rejected the decision of the council of Chalcedon. Then again Esdras and more particularly Nerses III, an old soldier and resourceful statesman, were forced to yield nominal obedience to an union thrust upon the Armenian Church under duress, but this apparent triumph of force, far from cementing the faithful into an homogeneous whole, produced but one result and that was to fan the animosity of the Armenians against the Byzantines, because they saw in this form of constraint an attempt to sap the very vitals of their national life. This religious strife made insupportable the position of Armenians inhabiting Byzantine territory for there the higher Greek clergy carried on a veritable campaign of persecution against those Armenians whom they classed as heretics. This religious intolerance was so intense, this campaign of oppression so cruel and so all-pervading, that the adherents of the independent churches of the Orient on many occasions welcomed Persians, Arabs, Turks and Tatars as liberators. The Empire of the Orient had sought to trample under foot the Church that was dearer to the Armenians than their very lives and as they felt that they probably had less to fear from the invader than from the Christian who refused them even a

modicum of religious liberty the defense of the Empire meant nothing to them.

The Armenian Church was forced to contend against the Manicheans, the Paulicians and other sectaries who multiplied in Armenia during the eighth and ninth centuries. The Catholicos, Nerses III, and Jean of Otzin opposed them but were unable to prevent the spread of their tenets. Finally during the reign of the Empress Theodora the Paulicians were attacked by the soldiery in 835 and it is said that over one hundred thousand were massacred.

It was in the midst of the anarchy to which Armenia was reduced during the Arab invasion that the position of the patriarchate became most difficult, only to become even more so during the ninth century when Arabian Armenia was devastated by the Emirs. Things reached such a pass that during the reign of Haroun-el-Rachid, the Emir of Dovine sought to take possession of all of the property and effects of the Church, threatening with death such members of the clergy as resisted such a confiscatory measure.

Caliph Abdul Malek (685–705) removed the administration of the country from the hands of the native dignitaries in order to confine this trust to Muhammadan generals or Emirs.[10] The conduct of these officials was generally signalized by unheard of ferocity. They treated the inhabitants as if they were enemies and persecuted them as much as possible. One of them, Abdallah, began by in-

[10] Armenian chroniclers apply the title of Ostican to the Arab governors; they were usually soldiers.

augurating a reign of terror; he then pillaged the churches and fell upon the unfortunate Catholicos, Sahak, whom he sent to Damascus. During the term of office of Abdul-Aziz and of Merwan (731–744) the tranquillity of the country was not impaired. Merwan, however, who subsequently became Caliph, had called an Armenian, Aschot Bagratid, to share his trust with him and during Merwan's expedition against the Huns, the sole administration was taken over by the Armenian who was given the title of Prince of Princes. From this moment the house of Bagratid gained a great ascendancy over all other families. This priority, however, excited the jealousy of the Mamiconians, who, under the guise of opposing foreign domination, began a fratricidal strife. The enmity of the nobles soon took the form of senseless revolt against the authority of the Caliph. The insurrection was put down in short order through the death of Sembat, son of Aschot, and the dispersion of the other chiefs. The victory gained by Lachanodracon over the Saracens, in 780, was the signal for a new revolt, which, in its turn, was put down by Emir Yezt (785). On the other hand, Emir Hol (818) did his utmost to put an end to abuses and though he sought to rule pacifically, he, nevertheless, was called upon to suppress a sedition fomented by the Bagratids, the Sunids and several other nobles. Shortly afterwards Bagarat Bagratid, whom the Caliph had made Prince of Armenia, was sent by Emir Said as a prisoner to Bagdad.

This attack greatly irritated the Caliph and he thereupon dispatched to Armenia the ferocious Bouha with instructions to place all of the nobles un-

der arrest and to inflict severe punishment upon the rebels. In due course Sembat Bagratid, the successor of Bagarat, was arrested, sent to Bagdad and tortured; but the rigor with which the reigning Caliph, Motawakel, sought to treat the Armenians did not cause them to lay down their arms. Such oppressive measures were all the more inopportune because while this unrest was in progress the Byzantines resumed the offensive and carried the war into Mesopotamia and Syria. This invasion encouraged the Armenians and Aschot, son of the unfortunate Sembat, once again raised the standard of revolt. Finding himself thus confronted, on the one side by an Armenian revolt and on the other by a Byzantine assault, the Caliph took counsel of prudence and appointed Aschot Bagratid to the governorship, conferring upon him the title of Prince of Princes of Armenia (859). It thus came about that, after a century of turmoil and severe hardships, political autonomy was accorded Armenia, in the shape of the elevation of the leading native family to the chief magistracy or governorship of the country.

CHAPTER V

The principalities of the Bagratids and of the Arzrounis — The Seljuk invasion.

When Aschot I wrung from the Caliph the title of Prince of Princes of Armenia, everything indicated that the Bagratid family was about to inherit the succession of the Arsacids. The task, however, was fraught with besetting difficulties. Not only was it necessary that Armenia should be emancipated from the yoke of the foreigner, but there were powerful feudatories, such as the Arzrounis and the Sunids, who held tenaciously to their fiefs and to all of their ancestral prerogatives. So powerful did the former house prove itself to be that one of its members, Gaghik, governor of Vaspouracan, likewise obtained from the Caliph the title of Prince of Princes. Besides these primary obstacles, the work of national unity ran counter to the polity of the Byzantine Empire, among whose subjects were many Armenians. The underlying note of the campaign of aggression followed out, under Basil, Nicephorus and Zimisces sprang, in fact, from a desire to annex Armenian territory to the Empire. Accordingly the Bagratids and the Arzrounis were forced to content themselves with the empty glory of a pompous title. The paraphernalia of power was in their hands but not the substance and they found themselves at the mercy of their neighbors, a tempting

morsel, inviting a Turkish invasion which was destined to come about during the ninth century.

Notwithstanding their feebleness the reign of the Bagratids and of the Arzrounis proved to be a blessing for Armenia and introduced into that country an era of prosperity. These princes proved themselves to be sincere friends of art and stout champions of commerce. They built cities and fortresses and erected many edifices whose ruins, even at this late day, lie strewn across the districts of Ararat and Vaspouracan. All that is found to-day that bespeaks the activity of the Armenia of the past dates from this epoch.

The kingdom of the Bagratids comprised Araxiana including Schirak [1] and Vanand.[2] Dovine, the last capital of Armenia, was under the control of an Emir. On the other hand the territory controlled by the Arzrounis was of great extent and embraced Van, Urmia, Naxuana and Moxuene, all lying to the south of the Lake of Van. The Sunids retained their old patrimony bordering upon Albania.

Aschot pacified the country and lived on good terms with the Emir of Aderbeijan, the most powerful Muhammadan ruler whose territorial jurisdiction was contiguous to Armenia. The new king, who was recognized by the Emperor, Basil I, hastened to betake himself to Constantinople in order to greet Leo VI who had succeeded Basil in 886. Aschot, whose reign began thus auspiciously, died while returning home, and unfortunately neither his son Sembat nor his grandsons Aschot and Abbas were able to consolidate the throne. Sembat led a despicable life and constantly quarreled with the Chris-

[1] Ani. [2] Kars.

tian Dynasts, or rulers, who were his neighbors. He also disputed with Gaghik, prince of Vaspouracan, to whom Youssouf, the sworn enemy of the Bagratids, had accorded the title of king. Sembat finally fell into the hands of Youssouf, who had him chained and delivered to the executioner.

Gaghik Arzrouni had, on the contrary, assured the tranquillity of his dominions by compelling the nobles of Vaspouracan to recognize his hegemony. He established his residence at Vostan, on the south side of the Lake of Van, and built a beautiful church on the islet of Agthamar, where he was wont to take refuge.

The revival of the Byzantine Empire about the middle of the tenth century, signalized by the victories of Nicephorus, Phocas and Zimisces, so terrified the lieutenants of the Caliph that a damper was thrown upon their ardor to subjugate Christian people. In the midst of these favorable circumstances Aschot III, called the Charitable, came to power. He set to work to organize his military forces and became sufficiently strong to be able to impose his will upon his neighbors. Internal discords, however, gnawed at the success of his administration, and he was compelled to partition his dominions and to cede the district of Vanand to his brother, Mouchegh, who assumed the title of King of Kars. It was during his reign that Zimisces made his appearance in Taronitide at the head of a formidable force for the purpose of combating the Saracens. The Byzantine Emperor, who spread dismay among the adherents of the Caliphate, was of Armenian origin, a native of Sophene. Aschot hastened to place a quota of horsemen at the disposal of Zimisces. When

Aschot died his crown passed to his eldest son, Sembat, whereas another son, Gourghene, fell heir to the district of Albania, together with the title of king, in accordance with the custom which then obtained. Sembat established his seat of government at Ani which he enlarged and beautified to such an extent that his capital became the largest and richest city of all Armenia. Sembat II, who has left the reputation of having achieved great glory, was at odds with his Uncle Mouchegh, King of Kars, and the fratricidal strife which broke out between them was only brought to an end by the intervention of David, the powerful potentate of Taïk. Sembat, after a reign of twelve years, died without issue in 990. King Aschot Arzrouni of Vaspouracan sought to emulate the example of the Bagratids and he therefore not only fortified the main city of his dominions, Vostan, but he endowed it with palaces, churches and a monastery for studious monks. The Patriarch, John V, known as the Historian, not being satisfied with the measure of security afforded him at Dovine, transferred his see to Vaspouracan (894). This decision was rendered all the more imperative by the fact that Dovine had been in large part destroyed by an earthquake. His successors took up their diocesan residence at Agthamar where they remained until 959 when the then reigning Catholicos, Anania, established the patriarchal see at Arkina near Ani.

As has already been stated, the Sunid family remained in possession of its ancestral domain situate on the confines of Albania or Karabagh. Exposed to the same evils which beset the Bagratids, they had often acted in concert with them. During the days when Aschot I wielded the scepter of the

Bagratids, Vassak of Sunid, the chief of his house, married one of the daughters of the Prince of Princes. The national chroniclers call the principality over which Vassak ruled the kingdom of the Sunids or of Capan, the latter name having been derived from the palace where the sovereign held his court.

The invasion of the Seljuks caused the Sunid dynasty to disappear, just as it drove the Bagratids and the Arzrounis into retirement. Numerous ruins of churches, monasteries and castles attest that the Sunids followed the current which swept across Armenia during the Middle Ages. During the seventh century the Sunid country was a center of great learning. A celebrated monastery located at Tathev was the point from which gravitated this intellectual movement.

It was during the Bagratid epoch that art, and more particularly architectural art, first began to make headway in Armenia. This movement, however, exercised no stimulating effect upon the literary evolution of the country. The activities of the writers of that age, of the monks and ecclesiastics, were limited to religious literature, to the composition of hymns, odes and sacred music. Stepanos Sunid, an eighth century writer, produced several works of this category which are of exceptional merit, and characterized by an exquisite charm and an elevating sublimity of thought. The pastoral letters issued by Patriarch John III of Otzin, to combat the heresies of the Paulician sect, possess striking literary merit. This churchman was a scholar and poet as well as a theologian, and the homilies, hymns and melodies which are due to

his pen are replete with refreshing beauties of thought.

It was only at the commencement of the tenth century that writers appeared who devoted themselves to the study of history, but they added no renown to Armenian letters. Catholicos John V, surnamed the Historian, composed a general history of Armenia starting from the Deluge, as established by the Bible, and carrying his narrative to the reign of Aschot II. His contemporary, Thomas Arzrouni, issued an history of the house of the Arzrounis which gives proof of higher erudition and is composed in a style of greater merit than that of John V. Shortly afterwards Stephanos of Taron, known as Acoghik, issued his chronicles which furnish precious data as to his times. Gregory of Narek, the Pindar of Armenia, born in 951, is the outstanding Armenian man of letters of the tenth century. His poems are works of incomparable originality of thought and his name stands high in the annals of Armenian literature. He issued a selection of prayers and elegies where he poured forth his whole soul in a language so inspiring and withal so soothing, so ennobling and withal so impregnated with true Christian humility, that as models of expression and diction their lyric virtues stand unsurpassed.

If the vestiges of plastic art which have been preserved or uncovered are so few that it is impossible accurately to gauge the ability of the artists to whose handicraft such work is due, the ruins of the churches, castles and ramparts, which go back to the age of the Bagratids, afford indisputable proof that architecture flourished during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Archæologists are un-

stinted in their admiration of the ruins of Ani. The ramparts of that city, completed in 980 by Sembat II, constitute invaluable specimens of Byzantine military architecture. The cathedral, which was finished by Queen Katramite, relict of Gaghik I, contains a cylindrical tower crowned by a dome and thus reproducing the dominant type of construction obtaining in all of the old churches of Armenia and Georgia. While it is true that the influence of Byzantine art is apparent, many features of the edifice have taken their inspiration from Persian and Arab sources and the general symmetry of the construction is accentuated by the judicious choice of building materials made use of by the designer.

The ancient mosaic and mural paintings which have escaped the ravages of time are too few in number to offer a proper criterion of their value. On the other hand, specimens of miniatures and illuminated missals and manuscripts are not wanting which tell of the skill of the artist to whose patience and technique they are due. The success attained by Armenian artists in this branch dates principally from the twelfth century; they specialized more particularly in polychromatic ornamentation.

Commerce, which from the earliest days had flourished in Armenia, enjoyed great prosperity during the Bagratid era. The bazaars of Ani and Theodosopolis abounded with the products even of the most distant countries and Armenian merchants made their influence felt in Constantinople, Italy, Syria and Bagdad, even as far as India. They were in truth intermediaries who were not only thoroughly conversant with the productive powers of the Orient but who kept in touch with the demands

of the Occident, and knowing at the same time what wares the East required from the West, they were able to create, develop and maintain for themselves a situation of rare commercial strategic importance.

The pressure of the Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities to compel the Armenian National Church to enter into ritualistic union with Byzantium was unrelentingly applied. Once again the Patriarch, Photius, sought to accomplish this end. He wrote to Aschot I and to Catholicos Zachary, a prelate deeply versed in theological lore, and sought to win them to his cause, but without avail (860). The Armenian clergy maintained its traditional attitude and adhered so resolutely thereto that Catholicos Vahane Suni (967–969) fell under suspicion because he sought to adopt certain Greek rites and to accept the canons of the council of Chalcedon. A synod, assembled at Ani, deposed this prelate, and his successors, true to the unanimous wish of the faithful whose shepherds they were, adhered without a waiver to this unalterable opposition to a ritual union with Byzantium, and so far was this spirit of religious independence carried that they stoutly defended their fellow worshipers who, residing in Byzantine territory, were continuously harassed by the Empire to agree to give up their national ritual.

During the century that their domination continued the Bagratids were not able to bring about a national union of the Armenian people. On the contrary they were forced to submit to the parceling out of their territory. The reign of Gaghik I, (990–1020), brother of Sembat II, who died without issue, was the happiest and most prosperous epoch of this entire era. Gaghik was the ablest cap-

tain and most practical statesman of the Bagratid dynasty. The Muhammadans conferred upon him the dazzling title of Schah-In-Schah-Armen, but notwithstanding the majesty and force which was supposed to be latent in such a designation, he was unable to prevent the Empire from absorbing the dominions of his ally, David, the Armeno-Georgian master of Taïk, Gogarene and of the city of Tiflis. After David had been poisoned, the Emperor Basil II came and took personal possession of the province which the deceased had bound himself to cede to him in the event of his death. After the death of Gaghik the situation went from bad to worse, as his son, John Sembat, was endowed with but a mediocre intelligence and was deficient in energy. Menaced by Basil, who gravely suspected that he had done his utmost to aid the King of Georgia in his designs to seize the ancient dominions of David, the Bagratid ruler was forced to bind himself to set over and deliver to the Empire the heritage of his fathers. Accordingly the Catholicos, Petros, was delegated to go to Trebizond in order to negotiate with the Emperor. In the meantime, a fratricidal strife broke out, for Aschot, a brother of the Bagratid sovereign, made war upon him and seized the city of Ani.

While these internal dissensions were undermining the structure of the state, a Turkish invasion accentuated a situation which was already of the utmost gravity. The incursion was first felt in Vaspouracan. Worn away by the strife which had devastated his territory, unable to withstand the impact of the Muhammadan cohorts, and above all surprised by the suddenness of their appearance, Sene-

kerim Arzrouni, whose rule extended over the invaded country, addressed himself in despair to the Emperor and offered to cede his principality to the Byzantines. Basil was willing to negotiate and it was agreed that in return for the principality Senekerim should receive the more peaceful district of Sebaste together with the title of Patrician and of Magistros. The chronicles narrate that Senekerim took up his abode at Sebaste, (1022), accompanied by his sons and his entire retinue, besides 40,000 emigrants. The district which the princes of Vaspouracan acquired at a sacrifice so great and which they had expected to enjoy in tranquillity, was destined to fall, in less than half a century, under the domination of those self-same Turks from whom they had attempted to find refuge in flight. Thus did the house of Arzrouni vanish from view. Its origin goes back to the days of the ancient kings of Ourartou. During eighteen centuries the family name had been known to that part of Armenia bordering upon Media.

The transfer of the dominions of the Bagratids to the Empire, which John Sembat had covenanted should occur upon his death, did not take place without bloodshed. Michael IV had followed Basil and when he sought to avail himself of the terms of the accord, the nobles refused to yield and took up a fortified position behind the ramparts of Ani. They called to the throne a valorous young prince, Gaghik II, a nephew of Sembat (1040).

The impulsive and combative nature of Gaghik gained for him numerous enemies who lay in ambush for him and imprisoned him in the castle of Cybistra, to the north of the Taurus, where he was finally

strangled. At about this same period, Atom and Abousahl, sons of Senekerim, were assassinated. Gaghik, the last prince of Kars, was able to maintain his position until 1064. When, however, Alp-Arslan took Ani, he abandoned his fatherland in exchange for an appanage in Pont near Neocæsarea. The Bagratids,[3] who had played a considerable part in the history of Armenia, thus disappeared from the scene. While it is true that these princes were weak and utterly unable to contend with the entrenched power of the feudal system it is but fair to state that their rule afforded a ray of hope in the midst of centuries of darkness.

The Sassanid kings understood how to hold in check the warlike people of Sogdiana,[4] as well as how to prevent their invasion of the West. The Arabs, however, desiring to facilitate the propagation of their religion, had, on the contrary, not only not checked but encouraged the coming of the Turks and the Turcomans, to whom Armenian chroniclers apply the generic name of Scythian-Tatars and sometimes that of Tadjik. These latter races had but recently embraced Islam and they dreamed only of conquest. Their chief, Toghrul Bey, grandson of Seljuk, had founded a new dynasty known as that of the Seljuks, and they had taken possession of Khorasan, Media and Persia. The Turks, grown powerful and numerous as the result of the addition of

[3] The princes of the house of Bagratid were: Aschot I (885), Sembat (889), Aschot II (915), Abbas (928), Aschot III (952), Sembat II (977), Gaghik I (990), John Sembat II (1020), Gaghik II (1040–1045).

The princes who ruled over Kars were Mouchegh (961), Abbas (984), Gaghik (1025–1064).

[4] Boukhara.

the hordes of conquered peoples who flocked to their standard, entered Armenia by way of Van. Ibrahim Inal, brother of Toghrul, ravaged Vaspouracan and then turning northwards he captured the populous city of Arzan (1022), which he pillaged and burnt. Such of the inhabitants as were not carried away in captivity and were able to escape took refuge in the neighboring fortress of Theodosopolis. Toghrul Bey marched in person against the city of Kars, which was laid in ruins. So desperate was the situation that it was only through bribery that the King, Gaghik, was able to escape and find a refuge in the fortress. Another column of Seljuks advanced towards Western Armenia, towards Kolonia [5] and the city of Melitene,[6] in order to overtake the unhappy inhabitants who had there taken refuge. When this furious torrent was pressing forward the Byzantine power had so withered that the Empire could no longer command the forces necessary to arrest the avalanche. With his plans thus defined, Toghrul Bey after a short time returned to Armenia in command of a large army, attacked Manazkert and took Klath-el-Arzk, which he burnt after he had massacred all of the inhabitants who offered any resistance. His nephew, Aly-Arslan, (1062–1072), renewed these attacks which were destined to subjugate Georgia, Armenia, Pont and Cappadocia. After a short siege Ani and Kars fell in 1064. This brought about the ruin of the capital of the Bagratids. The inhabitants, seeing death staring them in the face, took to flight. The rich were tortured and compelled to reveal the hiding place of their treasures. Some found a refuge in the

[5] Karahessar. [6] Malatia.

Crimea and in Poland; others among the Taurus Mountains and in Cilicia. The Turkish invasion swept everything before it in Asia Minor. Cæsarea fell in 1067. Notwithstanding the insufficiency of his forces, the Emperor, Diogenes, entered Armenia with the view of expelling Aly-Arslan, but he was defeated at Melazkert, taken prisoner and was only able to regain his liberty upon payment of a heavy ransom (1071). Aly-Arslan was assassinated a year later and his death temporarily arrested the further progress of the Turkish invasion, but anarchy thereupon raised its hideous head and thereby substituted an internal enemy for a foreign foe. Taking advantage of the respite afforded by the halt in Turkish operations, the Byzantines and Georgians were able to regain their old positions in Armenia, to the west and north, while the Tatars, Turcomans and Persians continued to occupy the western portions of the country. Shortly after this Malek Schah, (1072–1093), completed the conquests commenced by his father, Aly-Arslan. He took Adessa, Antioch fell into his hands and he extended his domination as far as the Mediterranean. Malek Schah at once brought to reason the Emirs and tyrants who were persecuting the people. He put an end to horrors of all kinds and protected the vanquished, who, such as the Armenians, recognized his authority. The peace and tranquillity which prevailed in Armenia as the result of this wise policy, arrested, during his reign, the emigration of Armenians from their fatherland.

When after the death of Malek Schah the empire of the Seljuks was divided and one of his nephews founded the Sultanate of Konia, the Armenian ter-

ritories were partitioned among the Byzantines, the Georgians and the Muslim Emirs. While the Sultans of Konia extended their rule in Byzantine Armenia, the sovereigns of Georgia, David, George and Queen Tamar, (1089–1184), regained their patrimony, reoccupied Ardahan, Ani and a part of the valley of the Araxes, and Armenian chiefs or Tichkans held the gorges and castles of Karabagh and the mountains to the east of Van. The Emirs of the Turcoman house of Sokina, who had established themselves at Diarbekir and dominated Vaspouracan and Taron including the towns of Klath and Manazkert, took the title of Schah-Armon. Another Dynast, Emir Danischmend or Gumach-Tekin, of Armenian origin, reigned at Melitene and Cæsarea. This condition continued until 1220 when the invasion of the Mongols caused a readjustment, but disorder and insecurity were everywhere prevalent. Ani was also devastated by an earthquake and became a mass of ruins (1319). The situation of the Armenians became absolutely impossible. Some of them emigrated, others either embraced Islam or joined hands with the Kurds and other hordes who began to spread towards the north and west. This emigration, joined to the falling off of the population, allowed the Turks, Turcomans, Tatars, Kurds and other Muhammadan elements to multiply in Armenia.

The position of the Patriarchate necessarily became very precarious from the moment that the town of Ani, passing under the control of foreigners, fell at different times, into the hands of Seljuks, Byzantines and Georgians. Catholicos Khatchik, (1054–1060), nephew and successor of Petros, was led to

Constantinople and held a prisoner by Constantine Ducas. Thence he went to Tharplur, near Kokusos,[7] in the Taurus Mountains. His successor was not chosen until 1065 and the weight of authority is to the effect that the new incumbent, Vahram Pahlarid or Gregory Martyrophile, took up his abode at the castle of Zamentau, not far from Kokusos. The new Catholicos was of noble origin, being the son of Gregory Pahlarid, celebrated as a man of letters, as a soldier, and as governor of the Mesopotamian district which he ruled under the title of Magistros. It is said, by the chroniclers, that the Pahlarids were lineal descendants of Gregory, the Illuminator.

[7] Goeuk-Sou.

CHAPTER VI

The Armenians in Cilicia — The Crusaders — The kingdom of the Roubenians, Leo II, the Hethoumians — The invasion of the Tatars and of the Mongols — The Patriarchate — The literary movement of the twelfth century — The Lusignans; the fall of the Armenian royalty established in Cilicia.

NOTHING presaged that the Armenians, at the mercy of so many incursions and scattered as they were, would have been able to create a new cradle and center of independence. Nevertheless, many of them, on the arrival of the Turks, took refuge in the Taurus Mountains of Cilicia. Among those who there found an haven was Rouben, an officer and relative of the last of the Bagratids, Gaghik II, who had been massacred in a snare which had been laid for him at Cybestra. Putting himself at the head of a few intrepid men, Rouben, in 1080, seized upon the castle of Partzerbert [1] to the north of Sis, in the upper valley of the Taurus. Before he had accomplished this feat other chieftains or Ischkans had already occupied several castles in those mountains, which had become the refuge of the Armenians. Among such chiefs was Oschin who formerly had been the holder of a fief in the Sunid country. He came to Cilicia in order to be near his compatriot, Aboulgharib Arzrouni, whom the Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, had named governor of Tarsus and of Mopsuerte.[2] Oschin obtained as an hereditary feudal benefice, through the kind offices of his

[1] Literally the high castle. [2] Minos.

fellow countryman, the castle of Lambron,[3] dominating the Cilician Pyles. Other Armenian nobles took possession of Ulnia,[4] the mountainous regions of Germance [5] and of Kenoun to the south of Melitene. The aggregate thus formed created a whole of no little importance and Byzantium was displeased to find that the Armenians had created a state which acted as the outpost of Christianity in the impending contest with Muhammadanism.

The taking of these mountain strongholds would not have had a far-reaching importance if it had not coincided with the arrival of the Crusaders. These champions of Western Christianity lent their support to the Armenians and protected them against the Eastern emperors and the Turkish dynasts who completely surrounded them. The Armenians amply requited the Crusaders for the service thus rendered, for they furnished men, provender and supplies of all kinds and in every possible way contributed to the success of the holy enterprise on a scale which surpassed that of any other nation.

Notwithstanding the fact that the best interests of the Armenian race called for the creation of a compact Armenian state, the new colony could not divest itself of the incubus of the old feudal organization. The failure of the Crusaders and the disappearance of the Mongols completed the ruin of Armenia about the middle of the twelfth century, when Islam gained renewed vigor and strengthened its influence along the shores of the Mediterranean. As the Armenian princes were, for a century, during this crucial period, nothing but mountain chief-

[3] Nemroun-Kale.
[4] Zeitoun.
[5] Marach.

tains they did not take a broad view of the situation and did nothing to arrest the natural tendency of the day.

Cilicia forms that fringe of the table-land of Asia Minor which runs down to Alexandretta and faces the island of Cyprus. There, in by-gone days, had been established the domination of Persia, the Seleucid dynasty, Rome and Byzantium, not to speak of the Arabs who ruled Cilicia during the seventh century. The country is dominated on the north and east by the Taurus Mountains and is composed of two distinct regions; one, mountainous, traversed by deep valleys surmounted by peaks of an altitude of 3,000 meters and the other consisting of flat plains, extending to the shores of the sea, and formed of alluvial deposits left by the Cydnus, the Sarus [6] and the Pyramus.[7] The general lay of the land recalls the Delta of the Nile. The mountains which encircle Cilicia are so formed that the intervening space between the different peaks allows but a narrow passageway, called Pyles or doors, and therefore geographers speak of the Cilician Pyles [8] and of the Pyles of Amanus. The low-lying plains of Armenia are extremely fertile and yield an abundance of cotton, wheat and many other products; the swamps, however, which are found in various localities, render unhealthy the country adjacent thereto to such an extent that the inhabitants are compelled to depart during summer months.

Constantine (1092–1100), son of Rouben, took from the Greeks the fortress of Vahca [9] near Hadjine and there he established his residence.

[6] Sihoun or Sihan.
[7] Djihoun or Djahan.
[8] Kulek-Boghaz or Couclac.
[9] Feke.

Constantine and Oschin received with open arms the first Crusaders under Godfrey of Bouillon and proffered them every assistance. In compensation therefor Constantine was raised to the dignity of a count and became the first baron of the dynasty of the Roubenians. Baudouin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, founded in 1097, upon the frontiers of Cilicia, the county of Edessa [10] which was destined to endure until 1134. At about the same time Bohemond created the principality of Antioch, which lasted until 1268. A daughter of Constantine married Josselin, Count of Edessa, and the mother of Constantine became the wife of Baudouin, brother of Godfrey. These marriages strengthened the bonds of union between the Armenians and the Franks.

Thanks to the help of Tancred, Prince of Antioch, Thoros or Theodoros, son of Constantine, enlarged his dominions. He took Anazarba,[11] a stronghold situated on an eminence overlooking the plain of Sis, which Justin I and the Caliph Haroun-el-Rachid had fortified. He also seized the castle of Amuda,[12] likewise located upon an isolated hill, not far from Anazarba. He rebuilt, near Sis, the monastery of Drazarc, which became not only an educational center but also the burial ground of the new dynasty. While it is true that the Turks attacked Thoros, acting in conjunction with Basil, the Brigand, another mountain chieftain, he was sufficiently powerful to be able to repel their assaults. His brother, Leo I (1129–1139), who succeeded him, was not so happy.

[10] The name Edessa goes back to the Crusaders. It is derived from Robez, which was one of the names given to Ourfa or Orha, the capital of Osrhoene.

[11] Anavarza.

[12] Tomlu-Kale.

He captured Adana, Mamestia [13] and Tarsus, but having had a misunderstanding with Raymond, Prince of Antioch, he found his position greatly impaired when John Comnenus, in order to chastise him, entered Cilicia at the head of an army. Leo was defeated and, together with his sons, brought to Constantinople in captivity.

The new kingdom of Cilicia appeared to be entirely wiped out when Thoros, son of Leo, escaped from Constantinople and made his way to Cyprus and thence to Antioch. He gathered together a small force and was able to recapture the place which had been occupied by the Byzantines and there reestablish his authority. Thoros was attacked by Macoud, Sultan of Konia (1116–1156), whom the Eastern Emperor, Manuel, had incited to wage war against the Armenians. The Franks came to the assistance of the menaced Christian Power and the assault failed. The Emperor, however, not to be outdone, entered Cilicia and occupied Anazarba and Til-Hamdon.[14] A compromise was effected through the intervention of Baudouin, King of Jerusalem, according to which Thoros was allowed to retain his dominions, not as liege lord thereof, but as a vassal of Constantinople. When Thoros died in 1169 new complications arose, growing out of the ambitions of his brother, Mleh, a former Knight Templar who had embraced Islam. This prince, with the aid of the Atabek of Aleppo, seized the vacant throne in defiance of the rights of the direct heir, an infant. He maintained his mastery for a period of five years, when he was finally assassinated by his own soldiers. His nephew, Rouben, had

[13] Missis. [14] Bodroum-Kale.

trouble first with Hethoum, lord of Lambron, and then with Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, who seized him and held him in captivity. He was liberated upon payment of ransom, became a monk and lived in retirement at the monastery of Trazar.

The reign of Leo II (1185–1219), brother of Rouben II, was an era of glory and prosperity for Armenia; it began, however, by a serious offensive campaign against the attacks of the Sultan of Konia and the Atabek of Aleppo. Leo felt that the time had come for him to aspire to the title of King. He, therefore, took advantage of the arrival of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, whom the Third Crusade had called to Cilicia, to solicit that the kingly crown be conferred upon him. When Frederick was drowned in the Cydnus a similar prayer was addressed to Pope Celestine III and to the new Emperor, Henry VI. The demands of Leo were acceded to and the Archbishop of Mainz brought him the royal crown which was placed upon his head at Tarsus by the Catholicos, Gregory Apirat (1198). The Byzantine Emperor, Alexius, took advantage of this opportunity to send to the new king a crown of gold. Notwithstanding such auspicious omens Leo became uselessly involved in a long armed contest with the Count of Tripoli in regard to the succession to the principality of Antioch which he desired to give to his nephew, Rouben, a descendant of a Bohemond. This prince lacked the essential qualifications of leadership and he was overturned and assassinated.

The Muslim power sought to tighten the net which surrounded Leo and he therefore was compelled to keep his forces upon a continuous war foot-

ing. He was obliged to betake himself to Cappadocia, to Heraclia, to the northeast. At Albestan he successfully repulsed Gayas-ed-Dine-Kaï Chosroes, Sultan of Konia, but he was defeated at Kapan by Aza-ed-Dine-Kaï-Kaous (1210–1219) and finally compelled to cede that portion of Isauria beyond the Selefke in order to make peace with the Sultan of Konia.

Leo II, who assumed the title of King of the Armenians,[15] repudiated his wife Zabel and married Sybille, daughter of Amaury of Lusignan, King of Cyprus. His alliances with Latin princes, the presence in Cilicia of Knights Templars and of Knights Hospitalers of St. John, and the use at court of both Latin and French, resulted in the fact that Cilicia absorbed the habits and customs of the Franks and modeled the court of Sis upon that of Antioch and that of Jerusalem. The common law of the land was inspired by that applied at Antioch and the nobles assumed the title of Baron or Count. There was a Baïle or Bailli whose rank was second only to that of the king. He was the hereditary tutor of the heir to the throne and the king's regent. There was also a Constable or commander-in-chief of the army under whom was a Marshal. Besides these dignitaries the court had its Chamberlain and a Grand Chancellor, the latter of whom was usually the Archbishop of Sis.

In adopting the feudal customs of the Occident, the Armenian nobility conformed itself to the pro-

[15] Gold coins are extant which show Leo II seated upon a throne supported by two lions. His right hand holds a globe surmounted by a cross bearing this inscription: Leo, by the grace of Christ, King of the Armenians.

cedure prevalent among the Franks and therefore every baron was compelled to receive his sword from the hands of the king.

During the reign of Leo II the limits of Cilicia extended on the west as far as Selencia [16]; on the north to the Cilician Pyles, including the castles of Cybistra,[17] Labron [18] and Podantus [19]; on the east to Kapan, Ulnia,[20] Germanicia [21] and the gulf of Alexandretta and the port of Aïas.[22] Leo established his capital at Sissium or Sis, at the foot of an high rocky elevation and he caused the spot so chosen to be surrounded with fortifications, whose imposing ruins still subsist. During his reign commerce made great strides and Cilicia became a depository for merchandise passing between Europe, Asia Minor, Persia and Syria. Merchants from Southern Europe, Genoese, Venetians, Aragonese, abounded in Aïas, Tarsus and Sis and many were the great warehouses stored with their costly wares. Traders from Montpellier and from Provence obtained treaties of commerce according them similar privileges to those granted Genoese and Venetian merchants.

Upon the death of Leo II his only daughter, Zabel, aged eleven, was proclaimed queen. The Baïle, Constantine of Lambron, gave her in marriage to Philip, son of the Count of Tripoli. This prince was poisoned and the Baïle thereupon forced the widowed queen to marry his own son Hethoum. This marriage brought the Hethoumians of Lambron into power and effected an union between the

[16] Selefke.
[17] Ereghli.
[18] Babaron (Tchandir-Kale).
[19] Bozanti.
[20] Zeitoun.
[21] Marache.
[22] Lajazzo.

Roubenians and the Hethoumians who had long been rivals. Hethoum I [23] came to the throne in 1226; that is to say when the Mongols of Djenghis-Khan invaded Western Asia.

Temoudjin, called Djenghis-Khan (Augustus), after having conquered those countries lying to the north of the Ganges and of the Indus made war upon the Sultan of the Khorasmians. Djelal-ed-Dine, one of the sons of the deposed sovereign, threw himself, with his followers, upon Aderbeijan and Ararat. Georgia was laid waste and suffered the same fate as Armenia. Erzroum was taken and pillaged and Khlat sacked. An understanding entered into between the princes of Asia Minor, Ala-ed-Dine Kaï-Kobat (1220–1237), Hethoum of Cilicia and the neighboring Emirs brought about a union which threw back the common enemy who fled towards the mountains of Kurdistan, where he was stabbed and died. The devastated towns had not yet been restored when the son and successor of Djenghis-Khan issued orders to Tcharmaghan-Khan to conquer the regions to the west of the Caspian Sea. In 1235 Mongols and Tatars exterminated the inhabitants of Kantzac; during the succeeding years they pillaged Lori, Ani and Kars. Murders and ruins followed in their wake wherever they made their appearance. Batchou, the successor of Tcharmaghan, marched in 1242 towards Erzroum, which at that time was under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Konia. Ghayas-ed-Dine-Kaï-Chosroes, defeated by the Mongols at Erzindjian, abandoned Armenia to the victors. In the meantime Sivas and Cæsarea were sacked by the conquerors and Hethoum, who

[23] Known to the chroniclers of the Crusaders as Ayton.

felt that he was about to be attacked, sought to propitiate the Mongols. He, therefore, sent ambassadors to them with costly presents and offered to do homage to the Tatar chief. In violation of his plighted word he delivered to the Mongols the mother, wife and daughter of the Sultan of Konia, who had taken refuge with him and believed in his assurances that they would not be surrendered. In order to seal his alliance with the Tatars and put a stop to the devastations which continued, Hethoum went in person, in 1254, to Khan Mancou, at Karakoroum in Tartary. He was well received by the sovereign and obtained two firmans in accordance with which the Tatars bound themselves to defend the Armenians and to exempt their churches from taxation. Hethoum gained such power from this alliance that, upon his return, he was able, with the assistance of the Tatars, to reconquer Isauria, which had been taken from him by the Sultan of Konia.

Shortly after this (1257) Houlaoun, brother of Mancou, arrived in Asia Minor. Cæsarea and Iconium were again laid waste and the authority of the Seljuks completely annihilated. Houlaoun then turned his arms towards Bagdad and put to death Motassem, the last Abbassid Caliph, together with his entire family. He planned to deliver Jerusalem but when the death of Mancou brought about dissensions in Central Asia, the Tatars suddenly retired towards the east. This move left Cilicia at the mercy of the Mamelukes. Bilbars, Sultan of Egypt, freed of the Tatar menace, invested Sis. Adana, Tarsus and Missis were devastated (1266). Two years later the Franks were driven out of Antioch and this loss aggravated the situation

of Cilicia. Hethoum, unable to contend against the Mamelukes, accepted an onerous truce and when his son, Leo, was taken prisoner, he abdicated, entered Holy Orders and, secluded from the world, died in a monastery in 1270.

During the reign of his son Leo III (1269–1289) the Mamelukes multiplied their attacks and at the same time internal dissensions paralyzed systematic resistance. An army composed of Egyptians, Arabs and Turcomans took Missis while Bilbars himself captured Aïntab, Albistan and Cæsarea. Taking advantage of the breathing spell produced by the death of Bilbars, Armenians, Franks and Tatars joined together and making their way to Homs attacked the forces of Kelaoun, the new Mameluke Sultan; but their united forces availed them naught and they were defeated and put to flight. Leo was thereupon obliged to surrender to Kelaoun and peace was granted him for a term of ten years, ten months and ten days on condition that he pay a tribute of a million dirhems in coin and allow Muslim slave traders to purchase slaves in Cilicia of both sexes and all ages. When peace was reëstablished commerce again flourished in Tarsus and Aïas. Leo, who was intensely religious, was thus afforded an opportunity of devoting himself to the foundation of new hospitals, convents and monasteries. Studious monks were thereby enabled to apply themselves to the studies of theological problems.

Gregory III Pahlavid (1113–1166), who had been chosen Catholicos at the age of twenty, transferred his Patriarchal See first to the castle of Djovk [24] near Aïntab and then to Romkla,[25] which he pur-

[24] Dullouk. [25] Roum-Kale.

chased of Josselin, lord of Germanicia.[26] There the Patriarchs retained their diocesan headquarters for a century and a half until the castle was taken by the Mamelukes (1293). Thereupon they took up their residence at Sis.[27]

The relations existing between the Franks and the Armenians could not fail to bring up the question of the union of the Armenian Church to that of Rome; whereas the Byzantine Emperors took advantage of this condition to renew their pressure in favor of the Greek Church. The Armenian clergy appeared to be disposed to conclude a pact of union with the Latins, as with the Byzantines, based upon a compromise, but the tentatives of Gregory III, Nerses Schinorhali and of Nerses of Lambron did not come to fruition. While Gregory IV Apirat, Constantine I and Gregory VII, at the head of the Armenian Church, declared that they heartily coincided with the desire of the Hethoumian princes to effect an union with the Church of Rome, the bishops and provincial clergy of the Eastern districts, led by Gregory of Tathey, remained immutable in their opposition and waged incessant warfare against a society known as the *United Brethren* who carried on a propaganda in behalf of a spiritual union with Rome. The establishment of close relations with the Latins, and the elevation of a Catholic family, that of the Lusignans of Cyprus, to the throne of Cilicia, served to accentuate the dislike felt by Muhammadans to Armenians, even although the Armenians

[26] Marasche.

[27] After the see of the Catholicos had been established at Ani it was moved to Zamentau (1065–1163); the castle of Djork (1163–1165); Romkla (1165–1293); Sis (1293–1441), and was then transferred to Valarsapat or Etchmiazin where it is now fixed.

were unsupported by the Western World. It was for this reason that when the seat of the Church was transferred in 1441 from Sis to Etchmiazin the Catholicos thought that it was the part of wisdom to put an end to all discussion tending towards a union and thus did the blind attachment of the Armenian people for the ancient traditions of the race perpetuate the isolation of the Armenian Church.

The creation of the Kingdom of Cilicia brought about an Armenian literary renaissance and awakened a new incentive for study. Monasteries, which were ever centers of public instruction in Armenia, multiplied in Cilicia and monks devoted themselves not only to the study of letters but to the reproduction of ancient manuscripts. They evolved a new style of writing which is now used in Armenian printed characters. To these monks is due the preservation of most of the ancient Armenian manuscripts.

Quite a galaxy of poets and writers of prose flourished during the twelfth century, but their achievements did not add a new luster to the glory of Armenian literature. The first rank among these men of letters was won by the Patriarch, Nerses Schinorhali, the Gracious. He was a member of the illustrious Pahlavid family and attained distinction as theologian, poet and as a master of elegant prose. His commentaries are looked upon as models, his pastoral letters as literary gems and his elegy dealing with the taking of Edessa by Zinghi Atabek has won high praise. While his writings betrayed the influence upon them of Oriental literature, his style attained an elegance and purity until then unknown. Nerses of Lambron, another father of the Church,

composed in a truly vigorous manner a large number of works bearing upon doctrinal questions. Matthew of Edessa, whose knowledge of the language was imperfect and whose study of history elementary, left a series of chronicles surcharged with interesting and unpublished data touching upon the Crusades. On the other hand Makhitar Koche composed a répertoire of fables and of laws. The most erudite ecclesiastic of that age of renaissance was probably Vardane who published a universal history which furnishes proof of his knowledge of the Greek, Persian, Tatar and Hebrew languages. Another interesting work due to this period is the "Universal History of the Great Khan," written in French by King Hethoum II, after his abdication and during his retirement in Cyprus. Sembat, the Constable, left a translation of the Assises of Antioch [28] as well as a chronicle wherein he depicts the society in which he moved. Both of these works are written in the vulgar vernacular of Cilicia. The best poet of this age was probably John of Erzengha, the Pluze or blue-eyed. His very soul is poured forth into his hymns and elegies.

Hethoum, who succeeded his father Leo III in 1289, was more of a churchman than a prince. He was sincerely devoted to the Papacy, which was then in the acme of its power, and this allegiance gave rise to perplexities which complicated the difficult part which Armenia was destined to play. He appealed to Rome and to the Knights of Rhodes to defend his

[28] The only manuscript of this work which has been preserved was presented to the Library of the Mekhitarists of Venice by the family of the author of this history of Armenia and of the Armenians.

country against the inroads of Islam; but to no avail. Romkla, the see of the Catholicos, was captured by the Mamelukes. Disgusted with the misfortunes which befell him, Hethoum abdicated in favor of his brother, Thoros, but he again assumed the reins of office and went to Constantinople to appeal to his brother-in-law the Emperor, Andronicus Palæologus. He turned over the Regency to another brother Sembat, but this prince forthwith proceeded to usurp the throne. The king thereupon abdicated a second time but this time in favor of his nephew Leo IV, a lad of 16 years.

The short reign of Leo IV (1305–1308) was characterized by an event of the most momentous importance for the future of Cilicia. The Mongols, who had espoused the cause of the Armenians and who until this moment were not distinguished for their devotion to any creed, and are said by many writers to have practiced no religion, suddenly embraced Islam and became the allies of the Mamelukes. Leo IV was assassinated at the instigation of the Mongol General Pilargon, who had penetrated as far as Anazarba. Oschin, brother of the martyred king, escaped from the snare which was set for him, held his ground against the aggressor and was proclaimed king. Little by little the kingdom of Cilicia had been reduced to the narrowest possible limits and when Oschin died, leaving a minor son, Leo V, aged 10 years (1320–1342), the territorial area of the kingdom was practically coextensive with the boundaries of the city of Sis. The youthful king entertained a violent hatred both of his uncle Oschin, Count of Korikos, who acted as regent during his minority, and of his wife the daugh-

ter of the regent. He carried this aversion so far that he had both of them assassinated and when only nineteen years of age took a second wife in the person of Eleonora, daughter of the King of Sicily and widow of Henry II of Cyprus. Leo V entrenched himself in his fortress of Sis and from that vantage point saw the towns and plains which owed him allegiance devastated by the Mamelukes and the neighboring Emirs, while he awaited help from the Occident, which the Pope had promised him on account of his allegiance to the Church of Rome. This supineness so disgusted the Catholicos and the Armenian nobles that the latter put him to death. Leo V died without issue and with him finished the last ruler of the Hethoumian dynasty. The throne of Cilicia thereupon passed to a race of princes allied by blood to the Lusignans.

According to the testament left by Leo V the crown was given to Guy of Lusignan, a cousin of the late king and son of Amaury of Lusignan. The new ruler followed the same policy that had brought misfortune upon his predecessor. He sought to effect an union between the Armenian National Church and the Church of Rome and thus alienated the sympathy of the clergy, who had him assassinated. The crown then passed to Constantine of Nezir, a son of Marshal Baudouin, Lord of the Castle of Nezir and of Partzerbert. This prince ruled during fifteen years but he was unable to reëstablish the former glory of the kingdom. His successor was Constantine of Baldin, a relative of the Lusignan family; but he too was unable to add a glorious chapter to his reign and died at the hands of an assassin who was instigated by his nobles. The Catholicos

Constantine IV, and the nobles then offered the crown to Leo of Lusignan, Seneschal of Jerusalem, who had taken refuge in Cyprus. For a long time Leo refused, but finally accepted and was able to reach Sis through paying tribute to the Turcomans. He was crowned by the papal legate but was shortly thereafter besieged in the fortress of Sis by Itch-Timour, Emir of Aleppo, who was sent against him by the Sultan of Egypt. Leo resisted but internal dissensions hampered him and he finally surrendered April 13, 1375. He was carried by land to Jerusalem and thence to Cairo where he remained for six years in captivity and was only released upon the intervention of the King of Castile. He betook himself to Rome and then went to Spain and France where King Charles VI settled a pension upon him. He died in 1393 at the palace of Tournelles and was laid to rest in the royal vaults of Saint Denis.[29]

Thus after two centuries of strife and replete with all kinds of vicissitudes, the last Armenian kingdom came to an end. Many of the nobles embarked for Italy, mostly for Venice, and Cilicia itself thus fell into the hands of the Muslims.

[29] The following Armenian barons and kings ruled over Cilicia: Rouben (1080); Constantine I (1095); Thoros I (1100); Leo I (1123); Thoros II (1144); Mleh (1169); Rouben II (1174); Leo II (1185); Zabel (1219); Hethoum I (1226); Leo III (1269); Hethoum II (1289); Leo IV (1305); Oschin (1308); Leo V (1320); Guy of Lusignan (1342); Constantine II (1345); Constantine III (1362); interregnum, Leo VI (1365–1375).

CHAPTER VII

The Armenians under the Persians and the Ottomans — Conquest of Ararat by Russia.

WHILE Cilicia was falling under the control of the Sultans of Egypt and the Sultanate of Konia was being wrecked by the invasion of the Tatars, a new power was rising in Asia, that of the Ottoman Turks. The Ottomans or Osmanlis had already penetrated into Thrace, and the Byzantine Empire was practically encompassed within the walls of Constantinople. Armenia, properly so called, was momentarily divided, in the north and east into Persian and Tatar Khans, whereas dynasts, descendants of the Seljuks, dominated in the west, and in the south Kurdish Seïdes and Sheiks were in control.

The population appeared to be about to enjoy a respite when Leng-Timour appeared upon the scene. The audacious Emir of Tartary and of Samercand, who had subjugated Central Asia, Persia, Irak and Bagdad, desired, at the age of 63, to conquer the Occident. He invaded Armenia when that country had barely recovered from the devastations caused by the hordes of Mongols. He marched against Van and when the burghers refused to surrender he took the city by storm and threw the bodies of the defenders from the top of the citadel. The town was sacked, the adjacent country laid waste and famine made its appearance.

Timour desired to subdue Bayezit Yildirim, Sultan of the Osmanlis, whose success wounded his pride. He therefore attacked Sivas, which in a certain sense was a fief of the Sultan. After several attacks the town fell and the Armenians, who in conjunction with the Turks had sought to defend the city, were severely punished to such an extent that the majority of them were buried alive. Two years later Timour attacked Cæsarea and invested Angora. Bayezit, who was awaiting the enemy in the plains to the north of the city, was defeated and carried off in captivity (1402). The victory of Angora put all of Anatolia under the power of the victor, for Smyrna sought to resist but fell after a short siege.

Leng-Timour had turned eastward in 1404 without having solidified his conquests and the country inhabited by the Armenians fell under the control of Turcoman dynasts belonging to the tribes known as the Black-Sheep and the White-Sheep. A dynast named Iskandar, who assumed the title of Schah-Armen, was the first ruler and he was followed by his brother Djihan-Schah of the dynasty of the Black-Sheep who established his residence at Tebris and thence dominated Aderbeijan, Van, Erivan and Georgia. This prince accorded his protection to the then reigning Catholicos, whose see was established at Etchmiazin and where it has been maintained since 1441. Djihan-Kir of the dynasty of the White-Sheep had his capital at Diarbekir (1443) and his dominions extended over Mesopotamia, Sophene and the Mouch region. A bitter rivalry existed between these two houses and this enmity kept the country in unending turmoil.

The Ottoman Turks under Sultan Muhammad II the Fatih took Constantinople in 1453. The conqueror treated with great liberality the Armenians who inhabited his dominions and they had but words of praise for the religious toleration shown them and the protection accorded to their faith. This same line of conduct was happily followed by the earlier successors of Muhammad II. The conqueror had barely entered his new capital when he ordered that a large colony of Armenians be transferred thither, whom he distributed in the eccentric quarters of the city lying within the walls.[1] The Metropolitan of the Armenian colonies of Asia Minor, Bishop Hovakim, was summoned to Constantinople, elevated to the rank of Patriarch (Patrik) and in 1461 was accorded the titles, honors and immunities which the Sultan had accorded to the Greek Patriarch.

As soon as Abou-Nasr-Mouzafer-ed-Dine, called also Ouzoun-Hassan (1468–1478), of the dynasty of the White-Sheep ascended the throne he overthrew the Black-Sheep and had himself proclaimed king of Persia. His dominions extended from the valley of the Oxus to that of the Euphrates and included Georgia and Armenia. He was an ardent follower of the Shiite sect of Muhammadanism and he desired to test his strength in Asia with that of the conqueror of Constantinople who was not of

[1] The first Armenian colonies of Constantinople were divided into six groups designated under the names of Alti-Djemaat, which were located in the quarters of Kara-Gumruk, Malta (near the mosque of Ratih), Tcharchamba (near the mosque of Fetie), Tekke (near the gate of Aya Kapou), Keumur-Odalar (Tavouk-Bazaar), Akhir-Kapou. Until the commencement of the nineteenth century the firmans issued by the Patriarchs of Constantinople bore the official designation of Alti-Djemaat.

his sect. Ouzoun-Hassan therefore invaded Asia Minor and pillaged Tokat and Sivas. The Turks, however, won a signal victory at Otlouk-Beli, and at Terdjan (1473) Mahmoud Pasha, the Sultan's Generalissimo, completely crushed the Persians and Turcomans. A hasty flight alone saved Ouzoun-Hassan.

This victory made the Osmanlis masters of Asia Minor as far as Erzindjian. Forty years later Sultan Selim I took up arms against Persia, where there then ruled the celebrated Schah Ismaïl of the dynasty of the Sophis. The Persians thought that they could prevent the forward march of the Ottomans by laying everything in waste before them and accordingly in their retreat from Erzroum towards Tebris they set on fire the entire country. The Turkish army encountered the Persians on the plains of Tchaldiran, northwest of Tebris. Schah Ismaïl was wounded and took to flight, but his treasure and his harem fell into the hands of Selim. Tebris was taken and the Persian throne transferred to Constantinople. The victory of Tchaldiran extended the limits of the Ottoman Empire beyond Erzroum (1517) and the Kurdish Sheiks and princes recognized the authority of the Sultan. The Emir of Zul-Kadrie in Cilicia, an ally of the Schah, was defeated and his head sent to the Sultan of Egypt. Shortly after this, Selim I conquered and took possession of Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, sending to the scaffold Touman-Baï, the last Mameluke Sultan.

Nevertheless the contest between the Turks and Persians was destined to last indefinitely, as had the test of strength between the Empire of the Orient and the Sassanids; all the while, at periodical inter-

vals, Armenia was turned into a battlefield. Under Suleiman the Magnificent his grand vizir directed an expedition against Thamasp, the successor of Schah Ismaïl, taking Van and finally Tebris, the residence of the Schah (1534). Thamasp refused to admit that he had been vanquished and, renewing the struggle, ravaged the Turkish frontiers. Suleiman thereupon put himself at the head of an army in order to capture Bagdad and retake Tebris, which the Persians had reoccupied. A new campaign (1535) brought about a cessation of hostilities but left the two adjacent countries under the menace of a renewal of the struggle. Hostilities did in fact break out between Sultan Mourad III and the new Persian ruler, Schah Abbas. The latter was compelled to cede to the Ottomans Georgia, Persian Armenia and Tebris. The Turkish commander-in-chief, Lala Moustafa, carried away as slaves the young boys and girls of Erivan, and his successor, Ferhad Pasha, erected, in that city, a fortress with the material derived from the ruins of the churches demolished by him. Ten years later war was renewed, and Schah Abbas retook Tebris, Van, Nakhtchevan and Erivan. It was again sought to force the Turks either to retreat or to cross a barren waste and therefore Abbas ordered the Armenians to emigrate in a body to Ispahan, in the interior of Persia. It is true that the king protected the Armenians and particularly the new colony of Ispahan but the greater part of the emigrants perished in an inundation of the Araxes or took refuge in Astrakan, whence they drifted to Moldavia and to Poland.

The Armenians of Turkey suffered greatly towards the end of the sixteenth century as a conse-

quence of the uprising known as the revolt of the Djelalis, a bloody insurrection, which during fifteen years devastated the Asiatic Ottoman provinces from the shores of the Bosporus to the frontiers of Persia. Chiefs, such as Kara-Yazidji, Deli-Hassan, Kalender Oglou, Djenchid, Topal Osman, Djan Polad, each of whom was capable of lining up in battle array from 10,000 to 20,000 combatants, dominated the country and declared themselves independent. These brigands, for such they were, terrorized the Beylerbeys, devastated, robbed and burnt everything that was in sight and outraged all of the women who appealed to their capricious fancy. The Armenians were the objects of their most persistent attacks and therefore home and fireside were once again abandoned. Famine followed (1606–1609), dead bodies were consumed and little children immolated that their flesh might feed the starving adults. Finally the bravery of an octogenarian of rare energy, Kouyoudji Mourad Pasha, delivered Asia Minor from the devastating presence of the Djelalis (1608).

The peace which was signed with Persia in 1610, during the reign of Ahmed I, was nothing but a truce. Hostilities did not cease until 1639, when, after the death of Schah Abbas, Mourad IV definitely annexed Bagdad to his dominions and ceded Erivan and Tebris to Persia.

In 1722 Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Ahmed III, sought to take advantage of certain dynastic complications occurring in Persia, in order to gain, in Asia, compensation for the losses suffered by Turkey in Europe. Once again Erivan and Tebris fell into the hands of the Turks (1724). The

fruits of this conquest were, however, ephemeral and the new war, which lasted twelve years, served only to reopen the same recurrent chapter of slaughter and devastation. The border states were ruined to such an extent that they have never fully recovered. The definitive peace which was concluded in 1736 by and between Schah Nadir and Sultan Mahmoud I forced Turkey to give up its latest conquests and thereby Georgia, Tiflis and Erivan passed definitely from under Ottoman control.

The Turks who, under Muhammad II, had given proof of most praiseworthy broadness of mind, became intoxicated by the successes achieved under Selim I and Suleiman the Magnificent and resorted to violence, oppression and intolerance. No Christian (or Raïa) could enjoy any political right unless he espoused Muhammadanism. Numerous new disciples of Islam, who had voluntarily or under duress abandoned the Christian religion, proved to be far more intolerant than the Turks themselves. The Armenian, as ignorant as his ruler, in charge of a clergy equally as ignorant, led a miserable existence, continually oppressed by the cruel exactions of the governing classes and the exigencies of his feudal chiefs. If it be true that the law known as the *Devchirme* had fallen into disuse since the days of Mourad IV the Christian Ottoman subject was forced to pay the capitation tax, the tax upon real property and those special taxes which must be paid by bachelors and wherever a betrothal is celebrated, not to speak of the statute labor or corvée whenever the troops passed through the country. The governing classes and the mighty, as well as the Sultan, made use of the right of *Oeurf*. Might was

so entrenched in power that the Christian enjoyed no safeguard for the protection of his life, his honor, his property. He was liable arbitrarily to be sent into exile, or to be condemned to death or to witness the confiscation of his property and the despoilment of his wife and his daughters. It was his duty to wear a prescribed dress and the slightest violation of the most commonplace regulation entailed the payment of a heavy fine or might result in the infliction of capital punishment. While the exercise of the Christian religion was allowed, it was provided that churches should be small, unobtrusive and of wood and it was forbidden to repair them without previously paying tribute to the cupidity of the powerful. A Muslim, and more particularly a Janissary, enjoyed the legal right of cutting off the head of a Christian in order to test the sharpness of the blade of his scimitar. Notwithstanding all of these manifold exactions, the Armenian enjoyed with Greek and Jew the monopoly of commerce and industry, as the Muslim despised such pursuits. The commerce with the interior of Asia Minor and with the Caucasus, Persia and India was the special preserve of the Armenian. In time the Armenian became the valued client of Turkish high officials, officers and Janissaries because he found a way to satiate their cupidity.

The position of the Armenians in Persia was not a more enviable one than that which has just been sketched. They were at the mercy of semi-independent Khans. Religious fanaticism was carried to lengths unheard of in Turkey, for in Persia the Shiite considered himself defiled if the wearing apparel of a Christian should touch him.

Beginning at the date of its transfer to Etchmiazin, the Patriarchal See found itself in a most lamentable position, for there all of the horrors of war and of internecine strife were felt to the fullest extent. More than thirty incumbents succeeded to the title of Catholicos or coadjutor without the sanction of an electoral assembly. Some of these dignitaries took advantage of the fact that they were in possession of the relics of the Illuminator and others had recourse to the protection either of Persian Khans or Turkish Pashas who always, it need not be said, yielded to the arguments advanced by the highest bidder and at the same time frequently subjected prospective candidates to physical duress in order to derive pecuniary profit from such practices. These unfortunate victims of such rapacity were often without resources and were therefore constrained to dispose of their sacred treasures in order to satisfy the greed of the governing classes who incessantly harassed them. The patriarchal monastery fell into ruin — and the church, the sanctuary, that the people venerated above all others, was more than once turned into a stable. There was, however, one figure who stood out in bold relief: Michael of Sebaste (1542–1570), who, in the face of all of these difficulties, introduced into Armenia the art of printing. He sent Abgar of Tokat [2] to Italy (1562), to learn the intricacies of this craft and from that moment Armenian presses sprang up and multiplied in Rome, Constantinople, Etchmiazin and Amsterdam. The spirit of ambition, evoked by

[2] Editions, issued in 1513, have been unearthed, the work of Venetian printers acting in collaboration with an Armenian named James Meghapart.

this movement, led Moses II, when he became Catholicos, to undertake a work of reform and he raised his see from the ruins in which he found it. He obtained from the Persian Government a cessation of the exactions which had nullified the efforts of his predecessors and so successful was he that a firman issued, granting Armenians release from certain taxes. His successors continued the work of restoration. In 1777 Catholicos Simeon introduced a new reform of the ecclesiastical calendar as regards the celebration of religious feasts.

No words can furnish a more accurate idea of the state of the Patriarchal See of Etchmiazin during the seventeenth century than the picturesque language of a traveler, Tavernier, who visited the country at about this time. He wrote that "the first locality one encounters upon entering Persia by way of Armenia is the spot called the Three-Churches or Utch-Kilisse, situate at a distance of about three leagues from Erivan. The Armenians have given to this place the name of Etchmiazin as this word means the Descent of the Only Son. All Armenians entering or leaving Persia stop here in order to offer prayers before the altar of the Three-Churches and caravans generally remain here five or six days. The day after my arrival I visited the Patriarch.[3] I was ushered into a small room where I found him seated on a mat, his legs crossed in true Oriental fashion. There were scattered around the room several archbishops and bishops in the same posture. The Patriarch gave orders that the collation be brought in, which consisted of cheese, pears, apples

[3] Probably Hacob IV (James) of Djoulfa who sought to build an addition to the monastery and had a very stormy pontificate.

and some kind of onions. When everything had been placed on the *Sofra,* which is a piece of leather spread on the ground, the Patriarch said a prayer, blessed the bread and then broke it and gave a piece of it to every one, keeping for himself but a mouthful. He thereupon blessed the wine but did not partake of it. Saturday, the eve of Sunday, of Carnival week, the Patriarch sent an invitation to the entire caravan, masters and servants, to come and hear mass and stay on for dinner at the monastery. When the service was over everybody entered a long arched gallery some fifteen to twenty feet in width. From one side to the other there was a large stone table, with a bench of like material the length of the wall. On this bench we were to take our seats. Facing was a chair reserved for the Patriarch."

The Patriarchs of Constantinople succeeded one another in no less rapid manner; forty-five incumbents occupied that see during the century beginning 1600. Most of these Patriarchs were unworthy of so exalted an honor; they were ignorant, of low origin, and men who took advantage of the corrupt practices which consisted of giving presents to the Grand Vizir to obtain from him a dignity which money obtained and merit did not acquire. These changes were all the more frequent for the reason that the Ottoman Court was generally established at Adrianople and thus the capital fell under the control of subordinates known as Kaïmacam. Greek monks took advantage of these conditions to obtain, during the vizirate of Keuprulu Mehmed, a firman attributing to them the Armenian monastery of Jerusalem. The terrible vizir, however, who was seeking, by his sword,

to put an end to abuses, recognized the rights of the Armenians and ordered that the convent be restored to them, which was done in 1659, after they had been dispossessed for two years.

Religious conflicts disturbed the tranquillity of the Armenians. One of those intriguing bishops, to whom reference has been made, John the Deaf, had had himself installed in the Patriarchal See of Constantinople and having shown distinct tendencies favorable to Roman Catholic rites, his policy provoked trouble during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. He was, however, reversed by the conservative element of the Church. Then again an Armenian bishop, Nicol of Poland, joined the Catholic Church about the middle of the same century and Catholic missionaries, led by Clement Galano and supported by the French Embassy, began an active campaign of propaganda in and around Constantinople. This movement won the support of a group of Armenians and even gained to its cause Thomas, Bishop of Aleppo, who had just seized the Patriarchate. Catholicism likewise spread at Mardine and Aleppo. Officially those converts to Catholicism continued to owe spiritual obedience to the Patriarchate and the conservative element of the Church, strong numerically and having influence in governmental circles, did its utmost to thwart this movement and prevent a definitive schism or outright secession. The Patriarch, Avedik of Tokat (1702–1706), who was very tolerant in dealing with the Catholic Armenians, but who nevertheless resolutely foiled the thrusts of Feriol, the French Ambassador, was, upon the demand of that diplomat, incarcerated in the Seven-Towers, and later exiled

to Tenedos, whence he was carried to France where the unfortunate man whose religious viewpoint was essentially opposed to the principles of Catholicism, was so harassed that he finished by formally entering the Church of Rome. When he died he was accorded distinguished honor, of burial in the church of Saint-Sulpice.

It cannot be denied that Armenian Roman Catholics were pioneers in spreading education among the Armenian people. An ecclesiastic of broad vision and with a thirst for knowledge, Mekhitar de Sebaste, after surmounting innumerable difficulties, founded in the Isle of St. Lazarus, Venice, a congregation devoted to the spread of education among the Armenians. Mekhitar was compelled to yield to certain exigencies of the Roman Catholic Church authorities before being able to devote himself freely to his work of intellectual culture. The Armenian nation readily and without reserve pays homage to the work carried out by the Mekhitarists of Venice and Vienna who have done so much to enrich the Armenian language and literature. The Armenians of Constantinople, following the example of the Greeks, made laudable efforts to advance the cause of education. They established printing presses (1700) and schools and under the leadership of Patriarchs John Colod and James Nalian, (1715–1764), many valuable books were published. At about this time the custom began of sending young men to Italy and to France to complete their literary course and to take up the study of medicine, law and of the sciences.

Successive immigrations added largely to the Armenian colonies of Russia, the Crimea, Moldavia

and Poland. The colony established in the Tatar country, at Astrakan and Kazan on the banks of the Volga, greatly contributed to the development of the trade of these districts. Armenians there attained to such high distinction that they are found in command of Tatar armies. Notwithstanding this, many of them emigrated to the Crimean Peninsula, and particularly to the district of Kaffa or Theodossia where Genoese influence made itself felt. The Turkish occupation of the Crimea and the consequent tyranny broke up the Armenian colony and drove some of its members to Moldavia and Poland and others to Constantinople (1475). Those who settled in Moldavia were, at first, denied permission to acquire the rights of citizenship and they accordingly in 1671 moved to Transylvania, where Leopold I accorded them citizenship, as well as a species of autonomy. Armenians thence drifted into Hungary where, under the protection of Maria Theresa, high honors in the civil administration and in the army were granted to some of them. The Armenian colony of Poland of 200,000 souls was the most important of all, in point of numbers. This colony, scattered through Galicia, Volhynia and the city of Lemberg, enjoyed a form of political autonomy and had its own courts and national judges. Years have passed and this colony has today practically lost its identity: in numbers it is reduced to a scant 5,000 who do not even know the language of their ancestors.

It was not only towards the west that the Armenians emigrated. Those who were established at Djoulfa near Ispahan went to India, to Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and even as far as Java.

Trade called them to these points. The Indian colony of only 12,000 was extremely generous and on many occasions gave liberally of its wealth to advance the cause of education.

The first Armenian newspaper was published at Madras in 1794.

It was Peter the Great who encouraged the Armenians to found colonies in Russia. He desired to develop the trade of his country and recognized the rare commercial attributes of the Armenian. Catherine II pursued the same policy, and the Armenians of the Crimea, tired of the oppression of Tatar Khans, founded, on the banks of the Don, the city of Novo-Nakhtchevan. They entered the Russian armies and gave proof of those military talents which had distinguished them during the days of the Byzantine Empire.

The Russians had already invaded the Caucasus during the reign of Catherine II and extended their protection over the kingdom of Georgia, which had continued its existence under the suzerainty, more or less real, of Persia. Agha Mahmoud Khan, who had seized the throne of Persia, hastened to Georgia to avenge himself upon that country on account of its defection. Tiflis was pillaged for three days and the Persians carried off thousands of Christian children of both sexes. The Russians then occupied Georgia and Karabagh, where the Armenian *Meliks* aided them in the pursuit of the enemy (1798). The Persians were unable to reconcile themselves to the loss of this Caucasian territory. Abbas Mirza, eldest son of the new Schah Feth-Ali, put himself at the head of a large army in order to retake the country occupied by the Russians. He was re-

pulsed a first time in 1813, again declared war, invaded Karabagh and laid siege to Schouchi, which was defended by Armenians. While the division commanded by the Armenian General Matadow threw back the Persians beyond the Araxes, the Russian commander-in-chief, Paskievitch, invaded the province of Erivan, took Etchmiazin, Nakhtchevan and then Tebris and pushed his outposts as far as Urmia. The brilliant campaign of Paskievitch, during which Armenian volunteers, led by Nerses, Bishop of Aschtarac, had fought in the Russian ranks, brought about peace. Feth-Ali concluded a treaty at Turkmen-Tchaï (1828), whereby he ceded to Russia the Khanates of Erivan and of Nakhichevan. A large portion of Persian Armenia thus became Russian and the Armenians of Aderbeijan were given the option of leaving Persia in order to take up their residence in the annexed provinces. This emigration movement was led by an Armenian Colonel Lazarew and the number of his fellow countrymen who remained under Persian suzerainty was reduced to 100,000 souls. The Russian conquest, in delivering Georgia and Armenia from the yoke of the Persians, freed these territories from those ravages which had in the past been incessantly carried out by Mahmoud Khan and men of his caliber.

In the meantime war broke out between Turkey and Russia, hostilities commencing at the same time in Europe and in Asia. The Russians under Paskievitch took Kars, Ardahan and Toprak-Kale. When the campaign was resumed in 1829 they sent their troops as far as Erzroum. Terms of peace agreed to at Andrianople restored the occupied cities to Turkey with the exception of Akaltchik and Poti.

As in the case of the treaty of Turkmen-Tchaï, Armenians, resident in Turkey, were allowed the option of emigrating to Russia and the Bishop of Erzroum took advantage of this right to lead into the province of Erivan many Armenians who inhabited the Turkish territory adjacent to the Turco-Russian frontier. This step was taken by him notwithstanding promises given by the Ottoman authorities guaranteeing to Christians their life, honor and the exercise of their religion.

CHAPTER VIII

The Armenians during the nineteenth century and the early days of the twentieth century.

THE nineteenth century marked a signal improvement in the moral existence and material welfare of the Armenian people. Education spread, economic development became accentuated and a distinct forward movement bespeaking progress and advancement was manifest. Armenians were admitted in Russia, Turkey and Persia to political and administrative honors and responsibilities.

The reign of Mahmoud II seemed destined to usher in a new era in the history of Turkey. This energetic sovereign had disbanded the Janissaries and sought to put an end to existing abuses. An enlightened minister of the Sultan, Grand Vizir Rechid Pasha, had caused the Tanzimat to be promulgated in 1839. This new ordinance set forth new guarantees safeguarding the life, honor and fortune of all subjects of the Empire and specifically provided for absolute equality before the law. After the Crimean war, the Sultan, pursuant to the advice of his ministers, yielding with becoming dignity to a current set in motion by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and supported by France, confirmed the assurances embodied in the Tanzimat and decreed that Christians should be admitted to military service. In addition it was provided that all privileges and immunities accorded of old should be considered re-

vived and to be of full force and effect. A decree known as the Hatti Sherif abolished the old distinction formerly obtaining between Muhammadans and Raïas and thus Turkey, inspired by the enlightened policy of the Vizirs, Ali-Fuad and Ruchdy Pashas, inaugurated, under the reign of Abdul Aziz, what might well be styled a liberal administration.

It is true that many of the reforms were never put into execution, but the very fact that it was found necessary to promulgate them, lent color to the belief that a new era had dawned. One salient change, of a purely social nature, it is true, served to mark a milestone in the march of progress for, from and after the reign of Abdul Medjid, Christians were able to brave the prejudices ingrained in the very soul of Islam and adopt the customs and manners of the Occident. Before this epoch an Armenian woman could not appear unveiled in the streets. Local conditions forced her to follow a deep-rooted Muhammadan custom. From this moment, however, she was able to consult her own personal pleasure and go about unveiled if she so desired. Many Armenians of the Caucasus joined the Russian army as volunteers. Others studied in the schools of Moscow and St. Petersburg and reached high posts in the civil and military service of the country.

In Turkey the powder monopoly which was granted by Selim III to certain Armenians, the Dadians, continued to be enjoyed by them; other Armenians, Duz and Kazez Artin, controlled the coinage of the land; and Balian became the Sultan's architect. Then again Nubar Pasha, the prime minister of the Viceroy of Egypt, coöperated in the

rejuvenation of that country. Beginning with the reign of Sultan Aziz Armenians are found occupying posts of great responsibility not only in the Ministries but also in the telegraph service, and their names even figure in the purely civil list of the Sultan. The favor which their merits had won for them in the Ottoman Empire, also gained for the Armenians of Persia like recognition from the government of the Schah, for members of the Neriman and Malcom families figured among the high Persian Court dignitaries and in the diplomatic service of that country.

This national regeneration first made itself felt in the Caucasus. There the Armenian found security for his life and property and an equality before the law which had been denied to him for centuries. As soon as the beneficent effects of the security which was assured to him by the Russian Government began to be felt, the Armenian set to work to improve his moral and material welfare. In Russian Armenia agriculture began to thrive, trade to prosper and arts and crafts either to spring into being or to assume a new life. The Institute of Oriental Languages, founded in 1818 by the Lazarew family, at once became a center whence Armenian scholars made their influence felt. Colleges were founded in Tiflis and other cities where libraries, printing presses, literary societies and philanthropic bodies also came into being. The Armenians of the Caucasus, whose numbers continued to multiply, took advantage of these opportunities, and took first rank in the work of intellectual renaissance which then swept over the country. Generous men of wealth, such as Sanassarian, bequeathed their entire for-

tunes to endow colleges, and Mantachew built, at his own expense, a church in Paris. Newspapers and periodicals were issued in large numbers during 1846 and thus added a new and efficient means for the diffusion of general knowledge.

A regulation known as the *Pologenia* was issued by the Russian Government in 1836, bearing upon the mode of election, and the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Catholicos. According to this decree the Catholicos is elected by an assembly composed of delegates who represent the various Armenian colonies of the entire country. At one time the relations of the Catholicos to Armenians resident in Turkey presented certain difficulties, but this matter is now regulated and recognized by the Porte, as the result of the efforts of Matthew I (1858–1865), a former Patriarch of Constantinople. His successor, George IV, reorganized the seminary of Etchmiazin and restored the old Patriarchal convent.

This forward movement did not assume so strong a current among the Armenians of Turkey. The Constantinople colony was torn asunder by an internecine religious strife. Patriarchs came and went without associating their name with any work of real utility. The prominent men of the nation, the merchants and bankers, in whose hands reposed the interests of the community, were mainly interested in questions of personal rivalry and with matters touching upon their influence with this or that Divan. To such an extent was this discord carried that the entire Constantinople colony was not able to provide for the existence of a single high school.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century

the Armenian Roman Catholic question entered an acute phase, largely owing to the great strides which Catholicism made among Armenians from and after the eighteenth century. In order to arrest the progress of the secession which appeared to be destined to assume large proportions, conciliatory spirits in both camps arranged during the reign of Paul of Adrianople in 1816 for a meeting between theologians of both communions, but the discussion which ensued served only to accentuate the differences between both sects. The government sought to put an end to these disputes and to the disorders which flowed therefrom, by sending into exile Kafez Artine, the most prominent Armenian of Constantinople. Shortly after this Armenian Catholics fell into the bad graces of Sultan Mahmoud II because he imagined that they were on too friendly terms with the European fleet whose ships had recently destroyed the Ottoman navy at Navarino. Entire families were deported to Angora and Kutahia. It was only after the signing of the treaty of peace of 1829 and the intervention of the Powers, that the exiles were able to return. In order to put an end to what appeared to be an insoluble difficulty the Porte finally consented, (1830), to the appointment of a Roman Catholic Armenian Patriarch. This solution, which exempted Armenian Catholics from the jurisdictional control of the Armenian Patriarch, encouraged the Protestant dissidents to lay claim to autonomy and a new community sprang into being known as the Protestant Nation (1847).

Religious discords then subsided, but the spirit of party and of disagreement was destined to survive among the new generation. Education was not

looked after with necessary care and a veneer of knowledge was preferred to the sound foundation which unremitting effort alone can engender. The result was that towards the end of the nineteenth century petty questions of personalities stood in the way of the moral and material uplifting of the nation.

Armenian literature owes the forward strides made during the nineteenth century to the efforts of the Mekhitarist congregation. These Venetian Churchmen composed the academic dictionary of the Armenian language and translated Plutarch, Sallus, Seneca, Eusebius and Thucydides into the classical Armenian language of the fifth century. The Hurmuz brothers, poets and writers of prose, translated the French classics; Alichan, geographer and philologist, published monographs dealing with Ararat, Sissouan and Sissacan; Arsene Pagratouni, Armenian scholar and grammarian, translated Homer, Virgil and Milton and composed an original epic, Haic, wherein he gave proof of outstanding talent. Among those fathers of the same congregation attached to the Vienna monastery may be cited the scholar, Katirdjian, who composed an universal history, and Karacachian, who gave to the world a critical history of ancient Armenia. Aïdinian, another philologist, published a scientific grammar of the spoken language and to the pen of Tachian is due a series of critical works. In addition to this purely literary effort, the Mekhitarist fathers founded, in 1836, schools in Paris, Venice and Constantinople for the education of Armenian youth, devoting to this purpose generous bequests made to them by two Armenians of Madras, Mourad and Raphael.

The impetus given to study by the Mekhitarists spread rapidly. Ermine, Oscan, Patcanof and Khalatiantz published in Russia numerous works including annotated editions of ancient authors, and scholarly ecclesiastics of the convent of Etchmiazin pursued with success higher Armenian studies. Father Chahnazarian issued in Paris the text of the unpublished works of several historians. All fields of literary activity are explored by the Armenians of Turkey. The most prominent note, however, whether it be in poetry, the drama or romance, is given by French literature.

The vulgar or spoken tongue is henceforth destined to dominate Armenian literature. This language has been enriched by the study of old Armenian classics to such a degree that it is able accurately to express any thought. French has played a happy part in molding this vehicle, which has, however, carefully preserved grammatical inflections borrowed from Touranian sources and principally from the Turkish language.

Until 1841 the Patriarchate of Constantinople was under the absolute autocratic authority of the Patriarchs. The spread of education begot new conditions and brought about the existence of a new generation which gave to all classes the right to share in those matters directly affecting the entire Armenian community. A Board of Government was therefore created, composed of fourteen ecclesiastics and twenty laymen, charged with the general administration of the affairs of the Patriarchate. Questions of rivalry were not excluded. A group of intellectuals, composed of Balian, Odian, Servican and Roussignan, drafted new by-laws in order to

bring about an improvement in the conduct of affairs. These by-laws were amended a short while thereafter and in 1863 were approved by the Porte pursuant to a decree issued by Abdul Aziz. This firman, which may be styled the Constitution of the Armenians of Turkey, provides for the creation of a general assembly enjoying legislative attributes and composed of deputies who exercise supervisory control over all matters within the competence of the General Assembly. The active management is confided to a board composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, presided over by the Patriarch and chosen by the Assembly.

This new management has not yet been able to evolve a plan bringing about an improvement in the condition of the schools and the charitable institutions of the community. The Armenian college, founded at Paris, enjoyed but an ephemeral existence. It was only through the generosity of Nubar Pasha that the secondary school established at Constantinople has been able to continue its work. Nevertheless an association exists, known as the Miatzial, composed of the educated Armenian youth of the land, and having for its object the spread of education in the provinces. The generous assistance of the Nubar family has found renewed expression in the endowments of Boghos Nubar Pasha. The creation of the important national school of Cairo and the allotment of prize money for poor students are invaluable works due to his patriotic beneficence. To him also does the nation owe that great philanthropic movement known as the Armenian Union.

When the Turco-Russian war broke out in 1878

the Patriarchal See of Constantinople had been occupied for two years by Nerses, a most distinguished prelate, and in high favor at the Porte. The Russian army of the Caucasus, commanded by an Armenian, General Loris-Melikoff, captured Kars, Bayesit and Erzroum. The Treaty of San Stefano followed wherein it was specifically provided (Article XVI), that " inasmuch as the evacuation by Russian troops of Armenian territory now occupied by them and which must be restored to Turkey, may give rise to conflicts and complications prejudicial to the good relations of the two countries, the Sublime Porte binds and obligates itself to carry into effect without delay the reforms and improvements called for by local needs in those provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and the Circassians."

When Europe learned of the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano it was decreed that a Congress should be held and the Eastern question submitted to it and not thus left largely to the arbitrament of Russia and Turkey. This convention was held in Berlin in the summer of 1878 but before it opened its doors a secret agreement was entered into by Great Britain and Turkey, known as the Cyprus accord, and which specifically provided that: " Should Russia keep possession of Batoum, Ardahan and Kars or any one of them or should any attempt be made by Russia at any epoch whatsoever, to seize any other part of the Asiatic territory of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, as said territory may be defined by the definitive treaty of peace, then and in that event England binds herself to take up arms for the defense of the territory in question.

On the other hand, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises England to introduce such reforms (to be defined at a subsequent date between the Powers) as may be necessary for an orderly administration and the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Sublime Porte; and in order that England may be in a position to assure the necessary means for the execution of her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan consents to assign unto her the island of Cyprus, to be by her occupied and administered."

As soon as the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities learned that it was proposed to revise the Treaty of San Stefano a delegation was sent to Berlin which asked that " the country of the Armenians be placed under a Christian Governor-General, that a Christian militia be created and that there be a reorganization of the finances, courts and constabulary of the country."

While the Berlin Congress was in session Lord Salisbury declared that he was in favor of accepting the last three lines of Article XVI of the Treaty of San Stefano before cited and which set forth that " reforms and improvements " should be accorded the Armenians, but that his acceptance was predicated upon the condition that the first three lines of the article should be eliminated, as they implied, or might be held to imply, that evacuation was contingent upon the execution of the " reforms and improvements." Discussion ensued and a definitive agreement was finally arrived which became Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, the language of which is as follows: " The Sublime Porte binds itself to realize, without further delay, the improvements and

reforms necessitated by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians. The Sublime Porte will periodically furnish information to the Powers in respect to the measures which have been taken for this purpose. The Powers will superintend the application of these measures."

In other words, the Treaty of San Stefano would, in the opinion of Great Britain, have permitted Russia to refuse to evacuate the territory occupied by it until the "reforms and improvements" were executed, whereas the Berlin Convention enforced Russian evacuation and made it the duty of Turkey to report periodically to Europe as to the measures which were taken and also made it incumbent upon Europe to see that the "reforms and improvements" were executed.

A voluminous dossier, heavy telegraph tolls, and heavier tolls in human lives stand as monuments to the significance of the reports of Turkey and the vigilance with which Europe executed the trust assumed by it in Berlin, in June, 1878.

The government of Abdul Hamid, far from safeguarding public security and guaranteeing the orderly administration of justice, encouraged the provincial authorities to introduce into and continue in the eastern districts a systematic campaign of murder and pillage.

A secret society was formed in Geneva in 1887 by a few students and young men who gave to their organization the name and style of Hintchak and took for their motto and rallying cry the revendication of those reforms called for by the crying needs

of the Armenian provinces. The Sultan, badly advised by the servile coterie which surrounded him, gave orders that the Armenians should be closely watched and proceeded against on the slightest provocation. An ill-conceived search carried out in a church at Erzroum in 1890 caused the death of twenty innocent Armenians. The members of the Hintchak were so provoked by this wanton outrage that they permitted their feelings to cause them to organize an ill-considered movement in the mountains of Sassoun, near Mouche. On the other hand bands of marauders, backed up by the army, burned down thirty villages after killing all of the inhabitants thereof. Between three and four thousand were killed; two hundred women were outraged and carried away to live a life which was sadder to them than death.

The consuls of the Powers began an inquiry and the ambassadors met and submitted to the Porte (1895), a plan of reforms for the six vilayets of Erzroum, Van, Bitlis, Kharpout, Diarbekir and Sivas, but pen and paper did not prevent the Sultan and his advisers from organizing the systematic Armenian massacres of 1895 and 1896. The butchery began at Trebizond and spread to Erzroum, Bitlis, Malatia, Eghine, Sivas, Diarbekir, Ourfa and Van. Finally the scene shifted to the capital of the Ottoman Empire and there, at Constantinople under the very eyes of those ambassadors whose governments had entered into a solemn covenant at Berlin in 1878 to superintend the execution of Armenian reforms, during three days and as many nights, Armenians were slaughtered. The number of the victims of this unbridled but organized fanat-

icism soon ran up to more than 150,000, without those orphans and widows who died of misery and privations. Not satisfied with the blood which flowed, police agents carried on a policy of vexatious annoyance against those Armenians who survived. The reign of persecution did not cease until Mgr. Ormanian was elevated to the Patriarchal chair in November, 1896.

The new Patriarch, a prelate of deep learning, organized the seminary of Armach and proved himself a statesman of consummate tact and an administrator of rare ability. He did his utmost to maintain cordial relations with the Ottoman Government and to lessen the weight of the cross which the Armenians were called upon to carry. Many of them found that their only hope lay in turning their steps towards the United States of America, where a colony was found in 1882 which in a very short time numbered 50,000 souls.

The Armenians of Zeitoun, in the Taurus Mountains, numbering 10,000, had until 1862 enjoyed certain special privileges, in return for the payment of tribute. At that time, however, the Pasha of Marache, under the pretext of settling a dispute between the Armenians and Turcomans of the village of Alabache, marched against the mountaineers at the head of an army of Bachibozouks. The attacking party was met by a lively fire but numerical superiority enabled the Pasha to surround the Armenians and when famine stared them in the face they were compelled to agree to the appointment of a Muhammadan Mudir and the construction of barracks upon the heights of Zeitoun. An extra tax was imposed upon the Armenians in 1878 and this

measure provoked another appeal to force which was brought to a sudden termination when the Sublime Porte, pursuant to representations made by the French Ambassador, decreed a general amnesty. Following the Armenian massacres of 1895, the mountaineers of Zeitoun, under the instigation of the revolutionary committee of Hintchak, again took up arms and baffled the Turkish army for an entire month when the Powers intervened and put an end to the then pending contest.

No ethnical group forming part of the Ottoman Empire hailed with greater joy the revolution of 1908, the proclamation of an Ottoman constitution and the fall of Abdul Hamid, in 1909, than did the Armenians. At the very moment when Constantinople was agonizing under the last brutal measures of the Red Sultan, a new and terrible massacre was accomplishing its hideous work at Adana, in Cilicia, under the complacent eyes of the authorities, acting in concert with the Young Turks, who were never able to forgive the Armenians for that spirit of equality which permeates the very marrow of the bone of the Armenian race; 20,000 Armenians were butchered, cities were pillaged and villages blotted out. Populations without arms were attacked and slaughtered, but brutality was as prudent as it was cruel and abstained from braving the mountain fastnesses where the armed mountaineers of Zeitoun were prepared to exact a toll before giving up their lives.

The cruel treatment meted out to this unhappy district was as impolitic as it was savage, as the Armenians there resident had always lived on friendly terms with the Turks and were fired by sentiments

of the most loyal and sincere Ottoman patriotism. In thus resorting to barbarity in order to arrest the march of that progress and of that civilization to which Armenians aspired, the guiding forces of the Empire compromised the destinies committed to their care.

While the Young Turks were loudly proclaiming a doctrine of equality and of the need of reforms, brigandage, murders and spoliations continued as in the past, from one to the other of the eastern districts of the Turkish Empire. The question of reforms called for by the crying needs of these provinces, where Christians and Muhammadans suffered from the same evils, had been discussed at the Congress of Berlin, (1879), and again at Constantinople in 1895. George V, the Catholicos, deeply afflicted by the failure of the efforts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, appointed a delegation under the Presidency of Boghos Nubar Pasha (1913) in order to demand the help of those Powers called upon to solve the questions brought about by the Balkan war. The tact and high standing of the delegation named by the Catholicos afforded a guarantee that their efforts were destined to succeed, particularly so as no attempt was made to formulate new demands or to open up new questions but it was proposed merely to insist upon the execution of reforms which had been solemnly covenanted and reaffirmed time after time. Notwithstanding the bitter resentment of the Young Turks against the revendications of the Armenians, and in the face of their policy of procrastination and of circumventing a decision, the necessary preliminaries set in motion by the ambassadors of Russia and of Germany held out hopes of a

happy solution. It had been agreed that certain Inspectors-General should be appointed to supervise the execution of the reforms, and Dutch and Swedish delegates, charged with such a mission, were on their way to their posts, when the great war broke out in 1914 and put an end to Armenian reforms, to the great joy of the Young Turks.

The Armenians of Russia had naught but words of praise for the security and protection enjoyed by them from the day of their deliverance from the thraldom of the Persian yoke. They acquired for themselves a preëminent position in the Caucasus, thanks to their laborious spirit and those qualities which enabled them readily to assimilate the fruits of progress and of civilization. They held the first rank in the work of national rejuvenation. That spirit of absolutism and that tendency towards absorption, which became accentuated during the reigns of Czars Alexander III and of Nicholas I, towards the end of the nineteenth century (1880) necessarily engendered a great deal of discontent and gave rise to a spread of revolutionary ideas in Russia. Armenians founded at Tiflis (1890) a new secret committee known as the Daschnak or federation which found adherents in Russia and Turkey. This committee fell under the disfavor of the Russian Government and the spirit thus aroused resulted in a far-reaching campaign against Armenian intellectuals. Schools were closed and it was proposed to confiscate the national property. These measures exasperated the Armenians who desired to defend themselves against the Cossacks who fell upon them. The reactionary Russian authorities appealed to the dregs of the Tatar population and incited this rabble

against the Armenians and thus provoked bloody encounters between Tatar and Armenian at Bakou, Souch and Nakdjevan (1905). Thousands of dead bodies were piled up in the streets before quiet was restored. Shortly after this charges of high treason were brought against the militant party of the Dachnak. Over 500 members were brought to St. Petersburg only to be released when it was found that the charges against them were vague and proof of guilt inexistent. When all of the evidence is sifted it is seen that the intellectual élite of Armenia cried out against tyranny and the attempts of the authorities to Russianize the Armenians of the Caucasus.

During the course of the nineteenth century a steady flow of Armenian emigration from Persia to Russia brought about a falling off of the number of Armenians in Persia. It is believed that to-day there are but 70,000 Armenians in Persia scattered principally through the regions of Tebris and Aderbeïjan [1] and in the towns of Teheran, Ispahan [2] and Mollestes. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Persian intolerance made itself felt, but as the result of praiseworthy efforts in behalf of public instruction the Armenians of Persia were able to live in peace and to ameliorate their lot, without the shedding of blood.

The majority of Armenians belong to the National Church. There are, however, 180,000 Roman Catholics scattered principally through Constantinople, Angora, Aleppo, Mardin, Trebizond, Artvin and Akhaltzik (Caucasus), Ispahan (Persia) and Lemberg (Galicia). The Protestant commu-

[1] Khoï, Urmia, Salmast, Souk-Boulak.
[2] New Djoulfa.

nity, which is estimated at 60,000 or 70,000 souls, forms compact bodies at Constantinople, Merzafoun, Kharpout and Aïntab, where there are important schools established by American missionaries, who have rendered signal service in the spread of education. There are also some 10,000 Armeno-Greeks. This sect was very numerous during the Byzantine days, but it is now fused into the Greek element.

The Armenians of Turkey before the great war numbered approximately 1,800,000 and were divided as follows:—

1. Armenian provinces of Anatolia....	950,000
2. Cilicia (Sis, Adana, Marach).....	150,000
3. Other regions of Turkey	700,000
	1,800,000

Groups one and two constitute the most numerous ethnical element not only among the races who people the vilayets or provinces of Erzroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Kharpout and Sivas but also of Cilicia, deduction being made of the districts of Hehkiari including Seert, Mardine, Siverek, Behesni, Selefke, Azizie, Tokat and Amassis.

Although the breaking out of the war put an end to all further idea of reforms the Young Turks, now the Committee of Union and Progress, evolved the unspeakable idea of exterminating the Armenians in order thus to put an end to the Armenian question. It was, thereupon, agreed in secret by and between the influential members of the Committee, such as Enver, Talaat and their associates of the one part and Nazim, Behaeddine-Shakir and

other nationalists of humble origin of the other part, that the Armenians and other Christians should be annihilated if and when circumstances should permit. This heinous plan found an echo all the more willingly in the souls of the Turks because the Armenians were inspired by a sense of lively sympathy for the French and English and for the Allied cause generally, many Armenians having already enrolled as volunteers in the armies of the Allies.

While the conspirators were awaiting a propitious moment in which to begin their carnival of bloodshed several preparatory attacks were made upon the Armenians in December, 1914, principally in Van, Mouche, Samsoum, and Karahissar and wherever any resistance was offered to the exactions made of them. The Armenians of Van were able to find a refuge in the Caucasus, but elsewhere everything was swept away in a torrent of blood and devastation. The mountaineers of Djebel-Moussa, to the north of Antioch, defended themselves most heroically and, to the number of 4,000, were able to find a haven of safety aboard French cruisers. At Constantinople a number of Armenian men of education, among whom were members of the Ottoman Parliament, were sent as exiles into the provinces. Of these some died of want and suffering; others were favored by chance and managed to survive. The methodical work of definitive extermination began in June, 1915, shortly after the failure of the attack upon the Dardanelles. Acting in accord with the German authorities, both civil and military, the government decreed the deportation of the entire Armenian people, with the single exception of those resident in Constantinople. This deviation from an

otherwise universal and absolute rule was born of a desire to hide the true inwardness of the movement from the American Ambassador. The provincial authorities, military commanders, police agents, and constabulary hastened to execute the orders which had been issued and which were to the effect that the Armenians were, without delay, to be driven from their homes and tortured or exterminated either on their way to concentration camps which had been established or in these camps themselves. It must be said, however, that certain governors refused to execute such savage orders. The names of Rahmi Bey in charge of the Smyrna district and of Faïk Bey at Kutahia may be cited. The first named contented himself with exacting a monetary tribute from the condemned; the second displayed a humanitarianism of the highest type and a sense of honor of impeccable alloy. Other subordinates hesitated and were replaced by docile tools; while certain governors, such as the governors of Angora, Swâs, Kharpout, Diarbekir and Van, carried out their orders with an unprecedented refinement of cruelty.

The work of deportation was executed everywhere, in all the nooks and corners of the land from Andrianople to Adana, Malatia, Kharpout, Diarbekir, Erzroum, Sivas, Tokat, Amassia, Samsoum and Trebizond, without excepting the districts of Broussa and of Ismit. The rule was first applied to the male population. The young were thrown into prison, the elderly were told to depart within a delay of twenty-four hours and the priests were burned to death. Then the women and children were arrested. In many instances women were forced to embrace Muhammadanism to escape

death. As soon as they left the caravans were attacked by the constabulary and brigands who acted in concert. All conceivable forms of torture were applied. The men were killed, and the women and girls violated and then killed. At Trebizond it was found simpler to sink the barges containing the refugees.[3]

Not less terrible was the fate of those who finally reached the concentration camps located at Sultania, Aleppo, Damascus and in Mesopotamia. There the unfortunate survivors, insufficiently clothed and without food, were devoured by disease, and victims without number found relief in death from sheer exhaustion, want and suffering.[4]

Representatives of the local authorities were charged with the liquidation of the property and effects of the deported. The movable effects were destroyed or distributed among the Muhammadan population to encourage the True Believers in their work of extermination. Real property was subjected to the same treatment.

It would be a work of supererogation to attempt to draw up statistics establishing the number of victims of the sanguinary work organized and carried out during the war by the Young Turks. It may be stated, however, that fifty per cent. of the Armenian population of Turkey was sent to an untimely grave. If the Turks have thus furnished indisputable evidence of a cruelty unequaled in the annals of history, the part played in this hideous drama by

[3] Many authorities may be adduced in support of these statements. Among others may be cited the reports of the American missionaries, of German Red Cross nurses, of Dr. Martin Nilpage, of the German School of Aleppo and of Dr. Lipsius.

[4] Report of the American Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee.

their Teutonic Allies is no less reprehensible, for far from acting as restraining influences the latter counseled the crimes which sullied a record which was already black. The work of annihilation which has been carried out beggars description. If some parts of Turkey in Asia appear to show signs of life, all that country bordering upon the Black Sea and running to the Persian frontier represents to-day nothing but a picture of desolation and death.

THE END

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